FREE THE 12!

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WLB UPHOLDS WAGE FREEZING FORMULA

CIO Convention Reflects Policy Of Bureaucrats

By Joseph Keller

Scarcely an echo of the voice of the militant rank and file was permitted to penetrate the sessions of the national CIO convention held last week in Chicago. Under the domination of Murray and Hillman, who were aided by Rooseveltian choir boys like Wallace and the military brass hats, the 600 delegates, largely from the top CIO circles, were treated to a bureaucratic parade and an unrestrained display of servility before the Roosevelt regime and Wall Street government.

The attitudes which prevailed at this convention were a world apart from the real sentiments of the CIO ranks. In the recent CIO international union conventions and in their increasing strike actions, the CIO workers have been showing that they want an end to the policy of surrender and a return to the fighting program which built the CIO into the most powerful and dynamic union organization in America.

Their desires, however, were completely ignored by the CIO bureaucrats at this convention. In the face of increasing employer-government blows against labor, the ominous prospects of mass unemployment and the mounting open shop offensive, Murray and his satellites paid only lip service to the real problems of the workers. All the efforts of the top leadership were devoted to gilding the anti-labor Roosevelt regime and program in the hope of tying the workers more closely to the war machine and fastening tighter on the resisting ranks the shackles of subservience.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

Even before discussing the most pressing problems of labor and the increasing attacks of the corporations and government agencies — about which there was no lack of sterile whining and complaining — Murray put as one of the first important orders of business before the convention his resolution for reaffirming the no-strike surrender policy.

With the combined scare-head oratory of Murray and a leading army general ringing in their ears, the convention delegates obediently raised their hands in a unanimous vote for reaffirmation. Not one delegate took the floor to voice opposition. Yet hundreds of thousands of CIO workers have voted, with their hands through their representative delegates at recent international conventions and with their feet in hundreds of "unauthorized" strikes, against continuance of the no-strike policy.

The Murray-Hillman machine aimed to convert the convention into a hoopla demonstration over the "great progressive victory" scored by the CIO Political Action Committee, whose aid was decisive for Roosevelt's re-election. Although at the termination of the convention the first fruits of that "progressive victory" dropped rotten ripe on the heads of the delegates through the announcement of the WLB's infamous decision in the Steel wage case, Murray and Hillman whipped the convention into a synthetic post-election rally for Roosevelt and his policies "in the war and in the peace."

So successful was the CIO-PAC

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Belgian Police Fire On Demonstrators In Brussels, Kill 4

By Ralph Graham

Clinging desperately to office in the face of nation-wide hostility to its rule, the counter-revolutionary Belgian government of Premier Pierlot, backed by the Allied imperialists, has embarked on a campaign of terror, provocation and slander against the revolutionary fighters of the Resistance Movement.

Last Saturday, Nov. 25, the Gendarmerie in Brussels fired into a huge crowd of unarmed demonstrators which had gathered before the Chamber of Deputies after a march through the city. They also hurled hand-grenades. Four of the demonstrators were killed and 38 wounded. While defending themselves with their fists and with sticks in the melee that ensued, the demonstrators withdrew from the square before the Parliament buildings and proceeded to the Palais de Sport for a mass meeting.

A Gendarmerie spokesman claimed that the victims were killed or injured by the fire of the demonstrators themselves. This lying statement is disproved by the fact that none of the gendarmes were killed and only six wounded—the latter, as the Gendarmerie admitted "by fists and sticks, not by gunfire." The shooting, obviously, was a police provocation.

The procession of people which marched on the Chamber of Deputies stretched for a distance of three miles. This was three times as long as the first demonstration which took place on Nov. 19. The marchers carried banners demanding food and fuel and the air rang with shouts from thousands of throats: "Down With Pierlot!"

After the shooting, the shouts changed to "Pierlot the Assassin!" At the Palais de Sport, whence the marchers proceeded after the clash, 8,000 people crowded the hall and were addressed by leaders of the Resistance Movement. There were police there, too, but they kept their pistols beneath their coats.

When a wounded demonstrator was carried into the hall by his comrades, the crowd shouted: "Pierlot the Murderer!" Speakers urged the crowd to disperse quietly to their homes after the meeting and no further clashes occurred. But the police "were frank in predicting more trouble later."

BETRAY WORKERS

Although it is clear that the mounting crisis in Belgium can be resolved only by the overthrow of the Pierlot government and the Belgian capitalists it represents, the Stalinist and "Socialist" leaders of the mass movement follow the most cowardly and conciliatory policy toward the class enemies of the workers. Speaking

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Telephone Girls Get Bosses' Number

Telephone girls on the picket line at Dayton, Ohio are served coffee and sandwiches as they stay on strike duty outside the Bell Telephone Company offices.

Telephone Operators Conduct Wide-Spread Militant Strike

By Art Preis

In one of the most militant and dramatic strike actions since Pearl Harbor, thousands of women switchboard operators and other employes of the gigantic anti-labor American Telegraph and Telephone trust last week threw picket lines around telephone exchange buildings throughout Ohio, in Detroit and the very government war center, Washington, D. C.

Until it was suddenly halted last Friday on orders of union officials, the strike threatened to sweep like wildfire to key communications centers in all parts of the nation. Starting in Dayton, O., Nov. 17, when some 600 women operators struck in protest against intolerable wages and working conditions, the strike quickly spread to 28 other leading Ohio communities, including Cleveland, Toledo, Columbus and Akron, and was joined by sympathetic strikes in Detroit and Washington. Everywhere their picket-lines were respected by union maintenance men. Union workers in Chicago, Philadelphia and New York were also threatening to join the strike when it was called off.

From the start, the striking women operators conducted their struggle in the best militant traditions of the labor movement. Despite the fact that strike action is almost unprecedented in the telephone industry and that switchboard operators have generally been regarded as "white-collar" workers with little sympathy for unionism, the strikers demonstrated splendid militancy and solidarity. They established enthusiastic picket lines. They called immediately for sympathetic actions from all affiliates of the Ohio Federation of Telephone Workers and the National Federation of Telephone Workers, an independent union. They twice defied strikebreaking back-to-work orders of the War Labor Board and government threats of punitive measures.

With their display of direct action, the telephone employes threw a national spotlight not only on the terrible wages and working conditions of over 150,000 women workers in their own industry,

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Dayton Telephone Strikers Maintain Solid Picket Line

By R. Brown

DAYTON, Ohio, Nov. 25 — During the recently terminated telephone strike I had occasion to visit the picket line and strike headquarters here in Dayton, the origin and center of the strike movement. It was in the evening, and very cold when I saw the line of about a dozen girls marching in a circle in front of the Ohio Bell Telephone Building, but their spirit was excellent.

They sang songs as they marched around: "We've been slaving at the switch-board," and "We put Martin in the jug, in

(Continued on page 3)

Rejects Main Wage Demands Of CIO Steel Workers Union

Board Grants Face-Saving 'Fringe' Demands In Move to Perpetuate Little Steel Formula

By C. Thomas

Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" witch-doctors have cooked up another bitter pill in the form of a War Labor Board directive rejecting the demands of the United Steel Workers Union (CIO) for a 17 cents an hour wage increase and a guaranteed annual wage. The decision came after a year of stalling on the steel workers' demands which sought to bring wages in line with the rising cost of living.

While the WLB granted a number of "fringe" demands in an attempt to sugar-coat the bitter wage-freezing pill, it is universally recognized that the Little Steel formula was the basic issue involved in the steel wage case. By rejecting the main demands of the steel workers, Roosevelt's "stabilizers" have served notice that labor's "friend" in the White House is determined to drive down the workers' standard of living and deny their aspirations for "post-war" economic security.

The top CIO officials led by Philip Murray had made the steel wage dispute the pivot case in their "agitation" for an upward revision of the Little Steel formula. Practically every large CIO union has wage demands pending before the WLB which go beyond the wage-freezing formula. The labor skates had worked out the "strategy" of using the steel wage demands as the spearhead of the drive against the Little Steel formula.

The hopes of the CIO workers for wage increases were pinned to the outcome of the steel wage case. These hopes were blasted by the WLB directive rejecting any increases beyond the Little Steel formula. In announcing the decision, William Davis, chairman of the WLB, boasted that the wage-freezing Little Steel formula was "not even bent."

This was no surprise to the labor bureaucrats who knew in advance of the recent CIO convention what the Board decision would be. In fact, the Washington reporter of the N. Y. Times submitted a dispatch on the very day the convention opened outlining in detail the exact contents of the WLB directive. Yet the directive was withheld until after the end of the convention to permit Philip Murray to continue the pretense of putting up a fight

(Continued on page 4)

Pamphlet Drive Goes Over Quota Of 10,000 Copies

By Ruth Johnson

Demonstrating anew the growing receptivity of the American workers to the ideas of Trotskyism, and their widespread sympathy for the 18 Trotskyist leaders imprisoned by the Roosevelt administration for their revolutionary socialist opposition to the imperialist war, the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party to sell 10,000 copies of the Minneapolis Labor Case pamphlets has gone over the top in a nine-week drive.

With characteristic energy and devotion, the ranks of the party carried through their ambitious task despite innumerable handicaps. During the entire duration of the campaign the Socialist Workers Party was simultaneously conducting a thoroughgoing pre-convention discussion, involving every comrade in the study of the major issues.

Officially launched through the columns of The Militant on Sept. 9, the campaign closed at the National Convention held in New York City Nov. 16-Nov. 19. The final total was 10,226 pamphlets sold—102 percent. Reports from outlying branches which have come in during the past week show that even with many active members attending the Convention as delegates, the branches continued to work until the closing hours of the campaign.

During these nine weeks of intensive sales work, our comrades have visited thousands of readers of The Militant in their homes,

(Continued on page 2)

UNIONS RESPOND TO CRDC CHRISTMAS FUND APPEAL

Twenty-six trade union and labor fraternal organizations are among the first contributors to respond to the Civil Rights Defense Committee's $5,000 Christmas Fund appeal for aid to the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners and their dependent wives and children.

Support for the fund to provide a little Christmas cheer and continued relief for the imprisoned Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO Truckdrivers leaders and their needy families has begun to pour in from defenders of labor's civil rights all over the country.

In addition to aiding the prisoners and their families, the fund will help to finance a continuation of the campaign for unconditional pardon of all 18 Minneapolis Case victims, 6 of whom were recently released after a 10 months imprisonment, and for repeal of the vicious anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act under which the 18 were the first to be convicted.

The CRDC is urging its members and sympathizers to help the Christmas Fund by buying and selling special Christmas seals valued at 25 cents, 50 cents and $1. These seals are put out on an attractive perforated card containing 10 seals totaling $5 in value. They can be obtained from the Civil Rights Defense Committee National Office, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Many letters are being received by the CRDC expressing warm well-wishes for the labor prisoners and their families and praising the work of the defense committee. Delbert Chesser, President of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 847, Columbus, O., writes: "Please accept this contribution, with the best wishes of the members of Amalgamated Local 847, for the speedy release of the imprisoned members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and a Merry Christmas to their families and friends."

A contributor from Sawyer, Mich., states: "I am enclosing five dollars, and wish I could make it five hundred. The future belongs to you. I hope, and may live to help in a final struggle with complete victory for real democracy." A New York friend writes: "Enclosed is my contribution for the Minneapolis Labor Case Christmas Fund. Your Committee is doing a wonderful job in its fight for a democratic America."

Recent labor organizations making contributions include: UAW-CIO Locals 266, Cleveland, 391, Racine, Wis., 410, Detroit, 847, Columbus, 63, High Point, N. C.; CIO United Rubber Workers Locals 61, Erie, Pa., 47, Marysville, Mich., and 172, Newark, N. J. AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Locals 178, Fall River, Mass., 40, N. Y. C., 234, Easton, Pa.; Workmen's Circle Branches 706, Boston, 122, N. Y. C., 1001, N. Y. C., 717-B, Lynn, Mass.; Workmen's Benefit Fund Locals 83, Carlstadt, N. J., 299, St. Louis, Mo.; AFL Trades and Labor Assembly, Gasper, Wyo.

Also CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers Journeymen Tailors Local 1, N. Y. C.; United Construction Workers, Cincinnati, O.; Hebrew American Typographical Local 83, N. Y. C.; Cafeteria Employees Local 302, N. Y. C.; Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen Local 814, Minneapolis; Shoetim Union Local 598, Chicago; Brewery Workers Local 37, New Haven, Conn.; CIO Textile Workers Local 573, Newark.

Party Greets Natalia Trotsky

The 11th Convention of the American Trotskyists sends you its warmest fraternal greetings. This Convention, larger and more proletarian in composition than ever before in our history, is living testimony that the ideas of Trotskyism are penetrating more deeply among the advanced American workers.

After the most thoroughgoing discussion of the tasks of the Fourth International in the unfolding revolutionary developments in Europe and on a world scale, the American Party is prepared to discharge its international obligations in the light of the teachings and example of our martyred leader, Leon Trotsky. Although not yet a mass party, the Socialist Workers Party is already the unrivalled champion in the labor movement of the program of revolutionary Marxism. The persecution of our Party and its leaders by the Wall Street rulers of American capitalism is confirmation of this fact. Trotskyism is the charge hurled by labor bureaucrats and Stalinists at every militant revolt of the workers against the repressions of the capitalist war machine.

We are fully confident that the forces of American Trotskyism together with our co-thinkers in Europe and in the colonies will apply Trotsky's ideas in the coming struggles, which are also on the order of the day in the United States. The Fourth International will rally the million-headed masses behind its unsullied banner and program for the revolutionary battles that will lead to the triumph of socialism on a world-wide scale.

Anti-Conscription Demonstrations Shake Mackenzie King Government In Canada

The Canadian government faces its worst crisis in 20 years as demonstrations throughout the dominion last week vented mounting popular resentment against Prime Minister MacKenzie King's sudden scuttling of the five-year policy of depending on volunteers among the armed forces for overseas service.

At Vernon, British Columbia, nearly 1,000 soldiers from the nearby military camp formed spontaneously upon learning of the reversal in policy and paraded the streets four abreast shouting, "Down with conscription," and "Conscript wealth and industry as well as manpower." A captain was reported struck when he attempted to halt the demonstrators.

At Chicoutimi, Quebec, demonstrating youths tore down the Union Jack from the post office building and paraded to the City Hall where they made speeches against the government.

In the city of Quebec, traditional center of the anti-conscription movement, 700 youths of draft age staged an anti-conscription parade. They marched to the offices of the Quebec **Chronicle Telegraph**, an English language newspaper, where they broke two windows. They then paraded to a recruiting office but were barred from entry by a large detachment of police.

UNFOLDING OF CRISIS

The crisis began the first part of November when Defense Minister Ralston, returning from Europe, resigned from office. He had recommended to King's cabinet that conscription be instituted to replace heavy casualties among the overseas infantry. At that time Prime Minister King publicly reaffirmed the policy of depending on voluntary enlistments.

A group of high-ranking Canadian Army officers then committed an unprecedented breach of army regulations by issuing a public declaration backing up the position of Ralston.

In the Parliamentary debate following, King declared that as late as October 18 the commanding officers had made "no intimation of any prospective insufficiency of reinforcements." He feared conscription, he declared, because it would "divide the country" for "generations to come."

However, on the following day, November 23, King issued an order making 16,000 drafted men immediately available for overseas duty.

The full-blown crisis immediately followed. The Progressive Conservative party called for a new government under a man who "favors total conscription."

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation decided to wait for full information. The Liberal Party of which King is chief, faced a split in its ranks as members representing the province of Quebec began resigning, accusing King of "treachery," and moving over to the Opposition benches in Parliament.

The facts as outlined above indicate the real cause of the crisis. The public declaration of the officers as well as King's trial balloons in the resignation of Ralston, show that the reversal in policy was calculated from the first.

The Canadian capitalist rulers, eager for a prominent place at the coming treaty tables and a sizeable share of the spoils, wish to make a better showing on the fighting front—at the expense of the draftees. Their brass hats also aim to tighten their grip upon the rank-and-file soldiers. Since the First World War, the anti-conscription movement has been very powerful among the Canadian masses particularly in the French speaking areas. The Canadian bourgeoisie have long tried to liquidate this movement which interferes with the free disposal of troops abroad.

Unable to overcome this popular opposition through propagandistic means, they have finally decided to ram it through by main force.

Once again in Canada we see demonstrated the axiom that the capitalists always place their own class interests above the will of the people and above the interests of the masses. How well they will succeed in subverting the will of the majority remains to be seen, as the crisis is far from ended.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Sides Line Up On "No-Strike Pledge"

As every informed press commentator noted, the national CIO convention last week was in marked contrast to the composition, moods and sentiments revealed at the recent rank and file conventions of the various CIO international unions.

The conventions of rubber, shipyard, radio and particularly the auto workers, disclosed a growing sharp opposition within the CIO ranks to the unconditional surrender, no-strike policy of the top bureaucrats. These representative conventions, made up largely of delegates elected from the shops and local unions, clearly showed the trend of the workers toward a return to militant policies.

This trend, demonstrated especially among the auto workers who conducted a terrific battle at the UAW convention against the no-strike pledge and who are preparing to hold a national membership referendum on the issue, was the source of deepest concern for the 600 or so assorted top bureaucrats and "pork-choppers" who constituted the major portion of the CIO convention delegates.

CIO President Philip Murray went all-out in his impassioned plea for reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge and secured a unanimous vote in favor of his servile policies. He was moved by stark fear that the auto workers, who represent a good fifth of the CIO membership, may scrap the no-strike policy in the forthcoming referendum and start a tidal wave of militancy that Murray and all his henchmen will be unable to stop. Murray hopes the action of the largely handpicked delegates at the CIO convention will exercise sufficient influence on the auto workers to swing the UAW-CIO referendum in favor of continuing the no-strike surrender policy.

* * *

Murray has good reason for his fears. The auto workers, who booed Murray at their own convention and who rolled up almost 40 percent of the convention votes for outright rescinding of the no-strike pledge, are not going to be in any receptive mood for more of Murray's oratorical palaver — especially since Roosevelt's War Labor Board punctuated all Murray's wordy pleas and promises by swinging the axe on the steel workers as the CIO convention was moving for adjournment.

The auto workers know what the WLB decision on the steel wage case means for them. Their own international officials have been stalling off militant action with glowing assurances that the key to the WLB for almost a year, was the steel wage case and Old Papa Murray had that all "sewed up" and "in the bag." All the auto workers had to do, according to Thomas, Addes, Reuther, Frankensteen and Company, was to ensure a "progressive victory" for Roosevelt on Nov. 7. The "Great White Father" in the White House would follow through out of sheer gratitude with a favorable decision

In the light of what the WLB has actually decided, the more than 2,300 delegates who attended the auto workers convention will now recall with a very sour taste in their mouths how Philip Murray sought to beat down their opposition to the no-strike pledge by proclaiming the brazen lie that he was "certain" — implying he had the real "inside dope" — that the steel workers were going to win their demands.

As a matter of fact, a good sector of the auto workers have had Murray's number for a long time. The local auto militants haven't been simply twiddling their thumbs while Murray and his lieutenants were preparing their counter-offensive on the UAW referendum. While Murray, Hillman and Thomas were lining up a few hundred docile hand-raisers for the CIO show last week in Chicago, the rank and file auto militants were beginning to go to the 1,300,000 organized auto workers with clear and to-the-point printed arguments for voting down the no-strike pledge in the forthcoming referendum.

Among the most cogent and impressive pieces of literature being distributed to the auto workers is a four-page leaflet published by the Educational Committee of UAW Chevrolet Local 659, Flint, Mich. "Stop Collective Begging... Vote To Repeal the No Strike Pledge" is the plea of the Flint militants.

"All of the concessions which you have been pushed into making, including the 'no-strike pledge,' have developed into a millstone about the necks of the auto workers and organized labor in general. You were told that your first duty was to win the war, that you should be prepared to make any and all sacrifices for the winning of the war. We were promised that our union would be unmolested, that collective bargaining would be maintained, that prices would be held in line with wages, that no new crop of millionaires would be born as a result of war profits. Not one of these promises made to labor has been fulfilled."

Pulling no punches, the leaflet declares: "Big Business does not say, 'There is a war on, therefore, we will sacrifice our profits and wealth to win it.' Do they say, 'We will not make any demands for our protection or extension of our economic and political power. We will not make a fight over any question affecting this power, no matter how important'?

"On the contrary the 'war crisis' is a BOOM to them. They mean to come out of the war with greater economic power and with a stronger political position from which to protect this power than they ever had before. They fight every inch of the way for bigger profits, for firmer control of the government machinery. They fight every inch of the way to DEPRIVE LABOR of its rights. They know perfectly well that the stronger they are the WEAKER labor is, and the other way around.

"They did not reach their powerful position by crawling on their bellies. They will not yield an inch without a fight. They will go their way without paying the slightest bit of attention to the good advice of labor leaders . . . The right to strike and the right to threaten a strike would send the enemies of a living wage scurrying for their ratholes," concludes this forceful statement.

Another powerful statement is contained in a special two-page supplement of the *Hi-Flyer*, official organ of Buick Local 6, Chicago, Ill. 25,000 copies have been sent to other locals throughout the country. Headed by a huge banner headline, "Revoke The No-Strike Pledge," the Local 6 statement proclaims: "Buick Local 6 delegates, welded in joint struggle with the most militant and progressive forces in the UAW, waged a heroic fight to revoke the infamous no-strike pledge . . . The membership of Buick Local 6, the executive board, the shop committee, the district committeemen and stewards, have not changed their minds. They are against the no-strike pledge."

Pamphlet Campaign Goes Over Top

(Continued from page 1)

explaining to them the importance of the Minneapolis Labor Case as the outstanding fight for civil liberties in this Second World War. They have pointed out the political reasons for the administration's attack upon the Trotskyists. They have answered in Marxist fashion the problems faced by the workers in their unions and on the political field. They have sold the pamphlets as primers of socialism to workers who were looking for the answer to the question of their own future under degenerating capitalism.

The increased attendance at forums held by Socialist Workers Party branches all over the country and higher rate of recruitment testifies to the success of the pamphlet campaign as a means of building the Trotskyist movement in America, and widening the arena of party work in future campaigns. Just as the campaign conducted last spring brought 7,614 new readers to The Militant and laid the basis for the distribution of over 10,000 copies of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets, so will this campaign mark the beginning of more intensive work in selling Marxist literature to wider layers of the working class.

The pamphlets, including James P. Cannon's "Socialism on Trial," Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism," "Why We Are in Prison," and the Civil Rights Defense Committee pamphlet "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" were attractively packed in a container inscribed "The Case for Socialism." The regular sale price of the pamphlets, 10 cents each, was cut to only 25 cents for the boxed set. These sets will continue to be available at the same price, as long as Pioneer Publishers' stock remains.

Not only have our comrades sold these sets to readers of **The Militant**, but they have also sold hundreds at union meetings, political meetings, and on newsstands which have carried **The Militant** and **Fourth International**. Reports from branch literature agents explain that our comrades, filled with enthusiasm by the success of their work in selling the Trial pamphlets, intend to use the same methods to sell other pamphlets in large quantities.

From Our Mailbag

Los Angeles: One of the comrades on this Sunday's mobilization sold a set of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets to each of the people he visited, five in all. Later in the day two of us covered a meeting of the NAACP at which Roger Baldwin spoke. Unfortunately, we had taken with us only 20 sets of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets, ten copies of "The Struggle for Negro Equality," and ten copies of "Negroes in the Post-War World." We sold all of these pamphlets and had to leave for lack of literature.

Youngstown: We have sold a total of 132 pamphlets, which is 12 over our quota. We still have some **Militant** subscribers to call on, and expect to sell some more pamphlets even though the campaign is nominally over.

Rochester: We have reached our quota—but we expect to double it by the end of the year!

Detroit: I want to thank you for keeping us informed of readers who renew their **Militant** subs by mail. We will visit these people with copies of "The History of American Trotskyism."

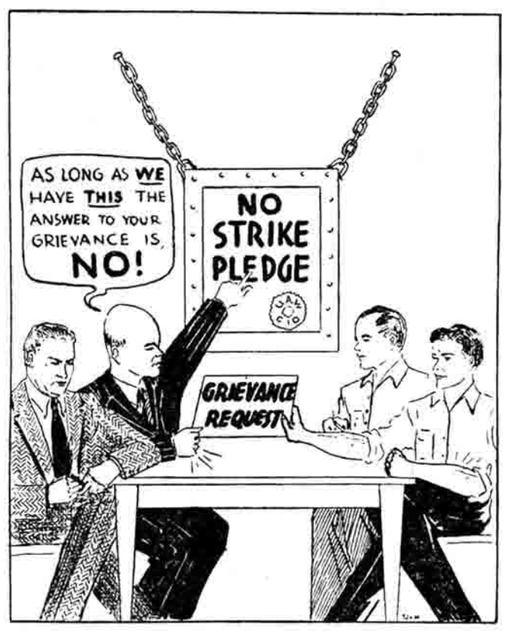
* * *

The enthusiasm and initiative shown in the letters above, indicates very clearly that to our comrades, the campaign for the sale of Marxist literature is just beginning. A score of 102 percent means to the Socialist Workers Party not only the successful conclusion of a party task, but proof that conditions today are preparing the American working class to understand and follow the program of Trotskyism, pointing the way to more intensive work for every comrade in the future.

FINAL SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Sold	Percent
Flint	10	32	320
Toledo	160	488	305
Milwaukee	80	160	200
Reading	90	152	169
Buffalo	400	560	140
St. Paul	140	176	126
Philadelphia	80	100	125
San Francisco	350	404	115
Youngstown	120	132	110
Los Angeles	1500	1610	107
Cleveland	200	212	106
Seattle	500	516	103
Chicago	700	700	100
Detroit	1000	1004	100
Minneapolis	330	330	100
Rochester	140	140	100
New York	2800	2800	100
Allentown	40	36	90
Akron	70	58	83
Boston	230	132	57
Bayonne	180	96	53
Newark	700	364	52
San Diego	80	24	30
New Haven	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Quakertown	10	0	0
St. Louis	10	0	0
Texas	30	0	0
Total	10,000	10,226	102

STOP Collective Begging



VOTE TO REPEAL THE NO STRIKE PLEDGE

"Stop Collective Begging," says the front page of the leaflet issued by the educational committee of Local 659, UAW-CIO, Flint, Michigan. This Local is one of many campaigning to rescind the no-strike pledge in the forthcoming UAW referendum (See Trade Union Notes).

Uruguay Police Raid Class On Socialism

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay, Oct. 30.—Launching a new attack on the vanguard of the working class, the government of Uruguay which recently enacted vicious anti-strike legislation (*The Militant*, Sept. 9), has taken further repressive measures by arresting 9 workers attending a lecture on Marxism.

The workers, including members of the Trotskyist Liga Obrera Revolucionaria (Workers' Revolutionary League) were arrested at the close of one of the series of classes held weekly to teach the principles of scientific socialism to friends and sympathizers of the party in a local of the Transport Workers and Movers Union (independent).

Federal investigators took the nine workers to the Central jail, and carried away all of the propaganda of the Fourth International and Leon Trotsky in the hall, leaving the works of other Marxist authors. All the prisoners were released after being held incommunicado for 21 hours during which they were denounced as Trotskyists and questioned closely about the party organization. While they were still in prison, the homes of five of the workers were also searched by the police.

From the actions and type of questions asked by the police, it is clear that the purpose of the arrests was to determine the strength and influence of the 4th Internationalist movement in Uruguay and its connections with other countries, especially with the United States. Among the newspapers seized were *The Militant* and the Chilean Trotskyist publications **Lucha Obrera** and **El Militante.**

The responsibility of the Stalinists in this persecution is well known in Uruguay. Not only have the Stalinists been carrying on a campaign in their press and in the Chamber of Deputies against the Trotskyists, but they have been acting as direct stool pigeons for the police, submitting names and facts for investigation. Correspondence sent to the Liga Obrera Revolucionaria from other countries has been rigorously controlled for some time.

The Liga Obrera Revolucionaria is asking all labor progressive organizations to join in a movement of protest against the persecution, and to defend civil rights. Its proposal to create a permanent Defense Committee is, to all appearances, meeting with a good reception.

Even those readers who find it impossible to renew their subscriptions upon expiration comment appreciatively about **The Militant.** We quote from a few letters.

Buffalo: "I received your letter a day or so ago. I haven't found any fault with your paper, not at all. I will keep your four cards to see if I can find someone to take the paper. For myself I have to wait a little while until I can get some reading glasses. Just as soon as I do this, I will fill out this renewal coupon and mail it back to you, and I hope it will be real soon."

Manhattan: "I regret very much my inability to continue my subscription to your very informative paper, **The Militant**.... Will try to interest my friends in the paper."

Los Angeles: "As our paper, **The Militant,** is up, we are asking you to stop sending it to us. My husband works long hours, gets home 11 at night, so doesn't have time to read it. He saves them and will read them sometime. He is a streetcar man so he will hand your cards out to some of the boys. We thank you for everything."

Detroit: "I wish to inform you, in regards to **The Militant,** that I do not wish to subscribe for the coming year, as I am located at my home in the club and there are quite a few of the above mentioned in the lobby and I can also secure one on its distribution."

Brooklyn: "I was very pleased to get your letter as I had promised to renew my subscription and promised to send $1. I lost the address that the young lady and gentleman gave me and hoped that they would come some Sunday and I would explain. Now I have decided that I do not care to continue the paper. I am sending 25c. in stamps for the extra papers that you sent. Wishing you every success."

Manhattan: "I am so busy I'll not have time to continue your paper. I'm not doing any reading at the present time. Your paper is a very fine one. I regret its discontinuance."

The Militant
may now be purchased at
242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

TENNESSEE LYNCH MOB MURDERS YOUNG NEGRO

Another brutal lynching of a Negro occurred on Nov. 23 in Roosevelt's Southern Democratic stronghold. A 17-year-old youth, James T. Scales, was dragged from the Pikeville, Tenn., jail by a white gang, paraded to the grounds of the State Training and Agricultural (reformatory) School for Negro Boys, and there shot to death "when he attempted to run away."

Scales had been imprisoned in the Pikeville jail after he had been accused of killing the daughter and seriously injuring the wife of the superintendent of the reformatory, where the youth was a trusty. Whether he was guilty or not will probably never be known. He was lynched before he ever had a chance to a fair trial.

Scales had been away from the reformatory grounds when the two asshulted women were found in their home. He had returned to the school with a former employe of the institution who did not know about the attack on the two women.

The Negro youth was promptly clapped into jail. There in short order the usual gang of white hoodlums formed. As happens so frequently in Southern lynch cases, where everyone in town knows what's being planned in advance, the sheriff chanced to be absent from the jail house at the very moment when the murder gang appeared. Only a woman employe was present, and she didn't put up any fuss.

According to the Police Chief, the group which lynched Scales numbered only "eight or ten," but he could not seem to get any clue to their identity. Although they had been seen by witnesses, he could not say whether they were disguised or not.

When the lynch gang brought Scales to the reformatory grounds, preparations were first made to hang him. At the request of one of the assistant superintendents, the gang refrained from a hanging, took Scales deeper into the grounds and shot him while he was "attempting to escape." Later, the other young Negro inmates were gathered and forced to march past the body.

MARKED CONTRAST

This brutal lynching, with the connivance of public officials, of a Negro in this country was buried — as usually — in tiny items among the capitalist newspaper, back columns. No indignation has been voiced editorially. Apparently Roosevelt and his associates are so engrossed in exporting the "Four Freedoms" all over the world at the point of bayonets that they have not bothered to speak out at this latest example of Jim-Crow violence.

This is in marked contrast to the hypocritical foaming at the mouth by the entire capitalist press when the Rome masses, including the relatives of 500 anti-fascists massacred by the Nazis, took justice into their own hands and killed Carretta, the Fascist jailer who had turned the anti-fascist workers over to their Hitlerite murderers. Then Roosevelt hastened to condemn the manner in which a fascist mass murderer met his end, at the hands of his outraged victims.

The mouthpieces of capitalism find a great difference between a bestial fascist official several thousand miles away receiving his just punishment at the hands of his numerous victims and a poor, deprived Negro youth murdered by a gang of race-hate indoctrinated hoodlums without benefit of trial by jury — little as even that means for Negroes, especially in the Democratic South.

Paid Off

Henry A. Schweinhaut, who gained national notoriety as Attorney General Biddle's chief federal prosecutor in the Minneapolis Labor Case, is about to receive his reward for services rendered in helping to railroad 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO truckdrivers leaders to prison.

President Roosevelt on Nov. 21 nominated Schweinhaut for judge of the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia, to succeed the former judge who died in August.

After aiding in the frameup prosecution of the Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, Schweinhaut "distinguished" himself as the federal prosecutor who secured convictions of 28 United Mine Workers members under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

Securing the first convictions under the two most infamous anti-labor laws of the Roosevelt regime, the Smith "Gag" Act and the Smith-Connally Act, was sufficient to place Schweinhaut at the top of Roosevelt's honor list for a judgeship.

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NewYorkForum Schedules Talks

NEW YORK, Nov. 27 — The New York School of Social Science will present three Sunday Night Forums during the month of December. The first forum, on "The Crisis In Europe: Why the Allies Seek to Disarm the Masses," with Paul Stevens as speaker, will be held on December 3rd at 8 p.m.

Workers who have attended the previous Sunday Night Forums have found them interesting and informative. We ask our friends and readers to help make these important forums known to their shopmates and co-workers.

The November series closed Sunday Night, with a report on the recent Socialist Workers Party Convention.

Forums begin at 8 p. m., at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place.

Insurgent Greek Workers Refuse To Surrender Weapons To Reaction

By Paul Stevens

As in Belgium, France and in fact all of "liberated" Europe, tension in Greece is mounting over Allied orders to the armed masses to lay down their arms. With the expulsion of their German imperialist rivals already accomplished mainly by the Greek insurgents themselves, the Allied imperialists are anxious to disarm the aroused people.

The workers and peasants however are resisting with fierce tenacity every attempt to disarm them, because they are determined not to return to the old regime which the Allies are trying to impose upon them. This tenacity of the Greek masses has been variously misrepresented in the capitalist press as a "lynch spirit," as the sentiment of "trigger happy" adventurers, etc., etc.

But facts that seep through the dispatches of the correspondents give the lie to all these charges and reveal the true motive for the determination of the Greek masses to retain their arms. These facts show that the Greek workers and peasants want to keep their arms and their armed formations in order to establish their own "order" in the country, to assure themselves justice, freedom and bread, and prevent any further betrayals of their interests.

Of course, the chief official reason offered for the edict of the Allied high command to dissolve the armed forces of the people (the ELAS) is the "need for law and order." How do matters stand here? On November 17, the N. Y. Times reported: "Outside of the Athens area the politophilaki, which is the ELAS' own police force, continues meanwhile to enjoy full powers. . ."

Further: **"With the exception of a relatively small area, Epirus . . . the situation is that the armed force of ELAS . . . remains supreme in the provinces, and it is clear that ELAS has no intention of giving up any of its power."**

"LAW AND ORDER"

In other words, "law and order" is pretty well established in Greece. Only it is not, apparently, "law and order" to the liking of the Anglo-American imperialists. Why it is not to their liking becomes understandable from a description of the powers that ELAS exercises.

The politophilaki, the Times dispatch tells us, "control the movement of all citizens and can continue the present practice of the ELAS to levy taxes and to distribute food stocks only to those selected to receive them."

Translating the language of capitalist journalism into terms of the class struggle, this means that ELAS has assumed the power of taxing the rich in order to meet the expenses of government. And more than that, it means that ELAS supervises the food stocks so that the masses are fed and kept from starvation — instead of permitting the parasitic rich to continue gorging themselves through black markets while the people go hungry.

Starvation is rampant in Greece. As early as October 31, an Associated Press dispatch from Athens forewarned that: "Hunger is lending a new edge to the political strife, and unless Premier George Papandreou can find a formula to re-establish and stabilize the drachma (Greek currency) and organize speedy distribution of relief supplies, further disorders appear almost inevitable."

The "formula" being worked out by the Greek masses in action is the program of revolutionary struggle against capitalist exploitation. It is working so far only because it is backed up by their own armed might. That is why the insurgent workers refuse to give up their arms.

ATHENS SITUATION

Their situation is brought even more sharply home to them by comparison with the situation in Athens, the capital, which is under complete control of the Allied military forces. There workers have to resort to other means to keep their families fed. "At Piraeus, the Athens port," a N. Y. Times report on October 29 informs us, "where labor is largely communist, workers have recently been not altogether cooperative in unloading supplies urgently needed by the populace. A promise of a greater food allotment to stevedores and longshoremen eased the situation."

If we strip this report of the hypocritical reference to supplies "urgently needed by the populace," this means that the Athens harbor workers who demanded higher food rations won promises. Where the workers are armed, they don't have to rely on promises. That is why they don't want to be disarmed.

That ELAS is a force to be reckoned with, even by the high and mighty Allied command in Athens, is obvious from the gingerly way the latter are proceeding in their plans to disband it. On November 18, the N. Y. Times carried the following dispatch from its correspondent: "Lieut. Gen. Ronald M. Scobie, British commander in Greece, issued an order today stating that if armed ELAS patrols continued to enter Athens and its environs, contrary to agreement, they would be required by British troops to disarm. If they refused, the order said, they would be handed over to ELAS authorities."

STALINISTS AND ELAS

The task of disciplining the ELAS patrols, and, ultimately, disarming the masses, is thus entrusted in the first place to the Stalinists whose main concern is to carry out the diplomatic commitments of the Kremlin in the joint Stalin - Churchill - Roosevelt conspiracy against the European revolution.

In order to retain their mass following, the Stalinist leaders practice an intricate game of double-dealing. An illuminating example of this was afforded by Gen. Stephanos Serafis, Stalinist head of ELAS. The Allies made him deputy chief of staff of the regular army, with the understanding that he would proceed to incorporate the ELAS units into the regular army formations and thus end their independent existence.

Serafis was asked by the Allies to sign an order disbanding the ELAS, but this he refused to do. He understood that more subtle methods were necessary. According to a PM dispatch, Nov. 27, he told the Allied authorities that he dare not sign such an order in Athens becaues his followers would believe he had signed under Allied pressure. "He said he would rather go back to the mountains and discuss it with his people."

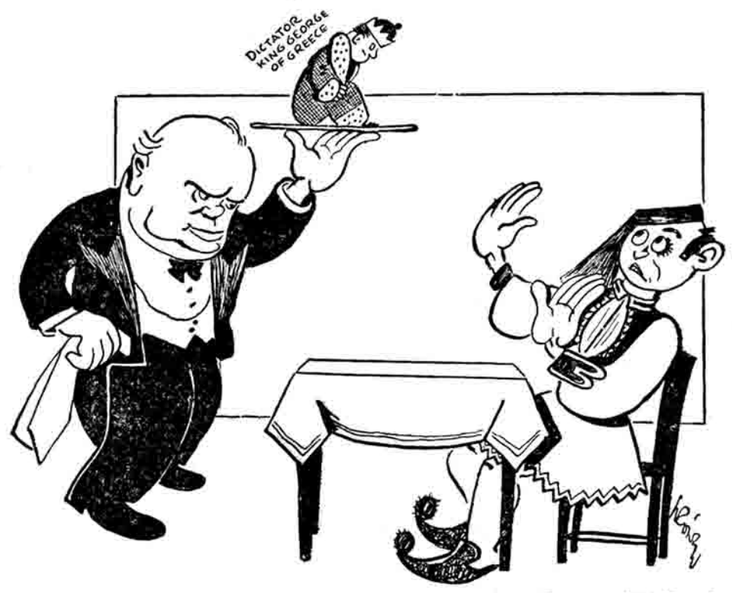
At this point negotiations have broken down. The Stalinist leaders are not yet sure of their ability to sell out—and get away with it.

The Greek masses are going through a tremendous revolutionary experience. It will not be long before they begin to turn their backs on the Stalinist agents who serve the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and their Allied fellow-conspirators. They will turn to the Trotskyists, the Greek party of the Fourth International, which will lead them on to the path of socialist revolution which alone can set them free and assure them a future of peace and plenty.

Inflation in Greece

Graphically demonstrating the terrible inflation in Greece, a street vendor in the picture above shuffles out handfuls of paper money in change for the young woman purchasing his wares. Greek workers must pay billions of paper drachmas for the scarce articles of food and clothing available, as did the German workers in the post-war inflation of the mark.

An Unpalatable Dish



Courtesy "338 News"

Stalinist Proposals Produce Tighter Controls Over Seamen

By F. J. Lang

An order to all shipyards of the United States Maritime Commission, issued Nov. 16 by War Shipping Administrator Emory S. Land, barring merchant seamen from employment in these yards, has been the first fruit of the November 10 industry-wide conference called by Land in Washington, D. C., upon request of the Stalinist leaders of the National Maritime Union.

That this is only the first of a series of restrictive measures against merchant seamen, projected at that conference, was indicated by Captain Macauley, Deputy War Shipping Administrator, in charge of the recruitment program of the Maritime Commission, who described Land's order as "the forerunner of a review of all means to meet the critical shortage of experienced merchant marine officers and men."

STALINIST FINKS

The demand that this industry-wide conference be called "to meet the critical shortage" by "establishment of a nation-wide manpower pool" was first advanced in a letter of Nov. 4 to Admiral Land by Joseph Curran and Frederick N. Myers, Stalinist heads of the NMU. (see The Militant, Nov. 18).

At the Nov. 10 conference in Washington, as reported in The Pilot (Nov. 17), one of the main proposals made by Curran & Co. "would require all seamen to report to central manpower pools such as the unions and the Recruitment and Manning Organization, to make the men available to the entire industry." The Pilot story says further: "The NMU emphasized the importance of WSA exercising the responsibility over manpower it has been granted by the WMC, and asked that Army transports and unorganized companies have WSA jurisdiction applied." In this way the Stalinists use the official organ of the NMU not to defend the rights of seamen but, as they themselves say, to advocate "tightening of controls over existing manpower."

The measures advocated by the Stalinists against seamen was further exposed by representatives of the Seafarers' International Union who also attended the November 10 conference. According to their story in the Seafarers Log, (Nov. 17) the Stalinists, led by Curran, Myers, and Stack of the NMU, and Harris, New York agent of the Marine Firemen's Union of the Pacific, made the following proposals to the brass-hats and ship-operators of the Maritime Commission:

UNION HALL PERIL

"1. Demand for a government pool of all seamen. This pool would dispatch men to all ships, organized and unorganized. (This would mean the breaking wide open of the union hiring hall and the closed shop. It would mean the end of organized labor on the waterfront).

"2. Selective service should draft all seaman who overstay their shore liberty.

3. "The War Manpower Commission should refuse to let any seamen get a shore job at any time. (In other words, freeze them to the ships).

"4. The Coast Guard should lift the men's papers for any infraction of the NMU-sponsored restrictions."

Carrying out the Stalinist line at the conference, Harris said to the Maritime Commission brass-hats, "I think that if the Coast Guard threatened to lift their papers, these men would stay on the ships." Joseph Curran, NMU president, revealed one of the reasons the Stalinists are now trying desperately to restrict the rights of seamen and herd them into a government-controlled shipping pool when he said, "Our members complain about belonging to a dictator organization. We must have Uncle Sam step in and enforce the rules."

SHORE LEAVE LIMITED

The wartime shipping rules of the WSA's Recruitment and Manning Organization, imposed on seamen with the aid of the Stalinists who have substituted these for the rotary system of shipping in the NMU, limit seamen's shore leave to 30 days. In all cases where a man has been to sea less than four months his shore leave is limited to two days on the beach for every week at sea. In attempting to enforce these rules the Stalinists have driven NMU members out of the union and into the manning pools of the Army Transport Service and the Standard Oil Company, where the RMO rules are not so rigidly enforced.

By seeking stricter government restrictions, the Stalinists hope to gain official recognition as union spokesmen in a government fink hall which ships only men satisfactory to the union bureaucrats and the ship operators, like the set-up in Great Britain. Under this kind of a tri-partite control, the labor skates collaborate with government agents and operators against the seamen. In return they are benefited and protected by the dues check-off system.

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

SWP Greets Antoinette Konikow On Her 75th Birthday

This Eleventh National Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement and Fifth National Convention of our party extends to you, dear comrade, the warmest fraternal greetings on your birthday. For over five decades you have been in the forefront of the struggle for socialism. Your presence in our ranks and participation in our work, binding the oldest generation of revolutionary socialist leaders with the youngest generation of Bolshevik fighters, is evidence of the continuity of the best revolutionary Marxist traditions embodied in our party. We are proud that you are today, as you have been, an honorary member of our National Committee.

Dayton Telephone Strikers Maintain Solid Picket Line

(Continued from page 1)

the jug." ('Martin is the name of a company stooge who, the previous day, had struck and injured one of the girl pickets while escorting some non-strikers into the building. The union brought charges against him in the local court, and his case has been held over into December'). One of the girls said she had been there since six-thirty that morning.

The strikers were permitted by the Montgomery County CIO Council (Dayton) to set up headquarters in the CIO Council Building, although the telephone workers have an independent union. The girls had the fight well organized. One room on the second floor was fitted with cots as a rest and sleeping room for tired pickets. A large room on the third floor was the center for gathering and assignment of pickets, and arrangement of shifts. There were also a couple of large tables here where food was served to the girls.

I spoke with a picket-captain, who told me that some AFL locals as well as CIO were supporting them. There were perhaps forty or fifty girls in the large room when I was there. The spirit was very militant.

The issue was very clearcut, and there was a great deal of sympathy for the strikers among the people of Dayton with whom I came in contact, even among many who were ordinarily antagonistic to strikes. I presume you know the issue involved: The girls received $21 per week starting wage, which could rise to about $29. Out-of-town girls were brought in by the company, which paid them $18.50 a week for "living expenses" but made no such concession to the girls already on the job. The girls struck against the discrimination.

The union officials (according to press reports) did not formally order the strike, but did not oppose it. I do not know if the WLB made any concession in bringing pressure on the union to end the strike. A WLB panel hearing is to be held in Dayton soon, I understand.

Two Kinds Of Socialists

By Jack O'Connell

The elevation of two ex-"militant socialists," choice products of the Norman Thomas school of politics, to government posts, stands in revealing contrast to the prosecution and imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyist leaders for their devotion to the working-class and the struggle for socialism.

The same Roosevelt who initiated the prosecution of the Trotskyists nominated the ex-"socialist" Paul Porter of Kenosha, Wisconsin to the War Labor Board on the West Coast and intervened to secure the election of another ex-"socialist," Andrew Biemiller, to Congress on the Democratic ticket in Wisconsin. A less obvious reward to a "socialist" renegade of similar stripe was Roosevelt's grant of government-built plant and lush war contracts to the AMPCO Metal Corp., of which Dan Hoan, former "socialist" mayor of Milwaukee, is a major stock-holder. This qualified the budding industrialist Hoan to run as candidate for governor of Wisconsin on the Democratic slate in the 1944 elections.

Workers fresh to the socialist movement often wonder why this movement is seemingly split by the presence in the field of more than one party claiming to stand for socialism. The Trotskyists have always sought unity with any party or group which stood on a genuine socialist program and showed willingness to fight for socialism — not just talk airily about it. At the same time, they have always warned the workers against those parties which talk socialism only to practice betrayal—parties like NormanThomas' Socialist Party which produce a string of war patriots and venal office-seekers such as Porter, Biemiller and Hoan.

James P. Cannon, Trotskyist leader of the Socialist Workers Party, who is now imprisoned in the Sandstone, Minnesota Federal Penitentiary, has given a timely description of these birds in his book, "The History of American Trotskyism." With the aim of uniting all revolutionary socialists behing their Bolshevik program, the Trotskyists entered the Socialist Party in 1936 in order to win over the leftward-moving elements. Inside the SP, they had to deal with the so-called "militants," about whom Cannon says:

"There were Biemiller and Porter from Wisconsin, young fellows who at the age of thirty had acquired all the senile qualities of the European Social-Democrats. Having lost the flame of idealism, if they were ever touched by it, they were already settling down to the business of labor-faking on weekdays and pretending to be radical on Sundays. They were nearly all of the same type, and it was a very poor type. Yet they were the leaders of the left-wing of the Socialist Party and we had to negotiate with them all, including Norman Thomas who was the head of the Party nominally, and who, as Trotsky very well explained, called himself a socialist as a result of a misunderstanding."

While the Trotskyists always opposed and exposed these fakers, the SP always shielded them. This made it easy for careerists to go over into the service of the ruling class as soon as they found the opportune occasion. Thus in 1942 Paul Porter acted by knifing the West Coast unions in a wage stabilization conference on which he sat as a representative of Roosevelt's War Manpower Commission. He just slid out smoothly and quietly from the SP and has been rewarded by appointment to the wage-freezing, anti-labor Board.

In Norman Thomas' outfit, the workers are looked upon as mere election fodder to be shifted around in deals made by office-seeking politicians. The vaunted "democracy" of the SP is simply a cover for the free-wheeling maneuvers of the party careerists. Discipline is only for those among its rank-and-file who display an urge for the real struggle for socialism. "Democracy" is then thrown to the winds and the bureaucratic expulsion whip is brought into play.

In contrast to this evaporating ghost of a party, which again exhibited its lack of flesh and blood in the recent elections, the dynamic, growing Socialist Workers Party, the party of Trotskyism, is a genuine workers' combat party whose leaders are tested for firm adherence to revolutionary socialist principles and who must at all times represent the party program and work under the direction of the party.

The difference between this party and the apparition of a party led by Norman Thomas is fully illustrated by the fact that the Trotskyist leaders were sent to prison while most of the leading SP "militants" of yesteryear have embarked on careers either in the direct service of the capitalist state or in the ranks of the trade union bureaucracy which keeps the labor movement shackled to Wall Street's war-machine.

Phone Strikers Assail "Gestapo" Conditions

(Continued from page 1)

but on the plight of millions of low-pay white collar workers subsisting under conditions of fixed low wages and soaring wartime living costs. At the same time, they further exposed the machinations of the War Labor Board and the Roosevelt administration as agencies defending the interests exclusively of the corporations.

The strike began in Dayton after the War Labor Board and the company had passed the buck back and forth for almost two years, stalling action on the union's manifold grievances. The chief grievance was wages, which ranged from $21 a week to a top of $31 — after 10 years of continuous service.

Since the war threw additional burdens on the overworked telephone operators, working conditions have become almost unendurable. The girl and women operators are subjected to what they call a "Gestapo system." They are under constant surveillance by supervisory "harpies" picked for their driving capacities and loyalty to the company, who time the split-second operations with stop watches in hand. It is a speed-up and stretchout system geared with remorseless scientific precision to squeeze the last ounce of energy out of every worker. The operators are strictly forbidden to relieve the monotony of their work by any personal conversations, to chew gum to keep their mouths moistened, or break the nerve-wracking, high-speed pace in any way.

The immediate cause of the strike was the use of "emergency" workers by the company who were brought in from out of town and paid special cost-of-living bonuses amounting to $18.25 a week more than the $21 paid regular workers for the same work. This practice began over two years ago, and has continued despite protests brought to the WLB in 1942 and 1943.

The purpose of these "emergency" workers is to provide a special force of "privileged" workers to fight the union and prevent wage increases. They were brought in after the union initiated demands for a $5 a week increase in the basic wage and maximum pay up to $40 a week for long-time employes. The company, notoriously anti-union, is determined to keep the present wage-scales for regular employes in anticipation of the great reduction in operations during the "post-war" period. The use of "special" out-of-town workers provides the pretext for payment of higher wages to a small group, needed because of labor scarcity, without requiring a general increase in wage scales. Home town operators are available, including competent Negro women, but the company refuses to pay the wages which will attract them.

The WLB for two years has turned down every union request for consideration of the telephone operators' demands. Each time, the government body has insisted it could not make a decision, ordering the union to negotiate its grievances directly with the corporation. The company, in turn, has simply laughed off all efforts by the union to negotiate. The company's arrogance was reinforced by the fact that its workers were caught helplessly in the vise of government compulsory arbitration and the anti-strike policy. But driven beyond endurance, the telephone workers broke out of the vicious circle with their magnificent strike action.

The government immediately intervened and used every sort of threat and pressure to drive the operators back to work. Confronted with a possible nation-wide communications crisis, the Roosevelt administration threatened to take over the telephone exchanges. Officials of the Ohio Federation of Telephone Workers were summoned to Washington and badgered and intimidated. Finally, the top union officials called the strike off without prior warning, claiming they had assurances that the WLB would give special and immediate attention to the union's demands. If the WLB does, it will be only because the strike threat is not ended. The Philadelphia operators have voted a 30-day ultimatum, for instance, and the aroused strikers everywhere have returned to their jobs with great reluctance and mistrust.

The WLB not only refused to consider the grievances of the strikers while the strike was still in progress but voted 10 to 2, with the CIO members concurring, to forbid negotiations between the company and union, although the company had refused to negotiated in good faith prior to the strike.

Their strike has served to reveal the tremendous discontent among a large strata of workers previously passive, and has shown what a reservoir of militancy and a growing appreciation of unionism exists among the women and white-collar workers. Against these most exploited workers, the Roosevelt administration has once more disclosed the lengths to which it will go in defending the interests of the biggest of the big corporations. But the strikers have provided an inspiring example for all labor of the methods of union struggle which alone can protect the workers, crack the wage-freeze and halt the employer-government offensive.

Detroit Women Phone Pickets Display Spirit Of Militancy

By E. Logan

DETROIT, Nov. 24.—One of the most stirring sights I've seen is the recent Telephone strike here in Detroit. Thanksgiving day was a cold day; though the sun was shining it gave no warmth. Yet at least fifty girls walked the picket line from 6 A. M. to 12 noon. They walked with no letdown in spirit. Singing "Solidarity Forever" and other union songs, the girls kept a solid line moving.

To my questions they answered clearly and decisively. They were out on strike. Cold as it was, some were without relief for six straight hours, without even coffee to warm them. Their spirits were high.

These girls formed a solid picket line, a picket line that gained in ranks without one leaving in the two hours I watched. Nor was there a scab that walked through. I know what would have happened had one tried.

The company with its usual dirty tricks gave out the report that they would serve Thanksgiving dinner to everyone working and that they would provide sleeping quarters. The striking girls booed and booed the release, and cries of "scab!" rent the air, whenever an inside worker showed up through the window.

When I asked if they were tired the answer was, "No, we'll never tire of fighting the bosses." Of course, the law was there, in blue uniforms, trying to shove the girls around, but they kept solid.

This lesson the workers can get from these women workers. Complete unity, complete solidarity.

P. S. When the order came that the strike was suddenly called off, the telephone operators here went back to work with heavy hearts.

China Crisis Deepens; Chiang Reshuffles Cabinet Under Pressure From Washington

By Li Fu-Jen

In a maneuver which he hopes will enable him to prolong the life of the bankrupt Kuomintang-military dictatorship, Chiang Kai-shek last week "reorganized" his government. He removed from Cabinet posts some of the more notorious of his venal and reactionary ministers and substituted others who are of essentially the same caliber.

H. H. Kung, the most unconscionable cut-purse who ever held the keys to a nation's treasury, was replaced by O. K. Yui, former mayor of Shanghai, as Finance Minister. Yui is a banker and also a close friend and colleague of Kung.

War Minister Ho Ying-ching was elbowed out to make room for Gen. Chen Cheng, who earned his spurs in Chiang Kai-shek's military campaigning against the Chinese Red Armies in 1930-35.

SECRET POLICE HEAD

Another change was the replacement of Chen Li-fu, sinister under-cover head of Chiang's secret political police, by Dr. Chu Chia-hua, a known admirer of the Nazis, as Minister of Education. Chu was educated in Germany and was responsible for bringing Nazi military advisers to China before the outbreak of World War II. He held the post of Minister of Education once before and in that capacity sent hundreds of Chinese students to Germany, to be trained in Nazi universities as future members of the Chinese ruling clique.

The new Minister of Interior is Chang Li-sheng, one of the leading henchmen of the displaced Chen Li-fu. His appointment ensures that the political concentration camps established and filled to overflowing by Chen Li-fu will be maintained for the benefit of critics and opponents of Chiang Kai-shek's rotten regime.

The displaced ministers have not by any means been ousted from the ruling clique. Gen. Ho Ying-ching, although no longer War Minister, retains his post as Army Chief of Staff, that is, he continues to control the armed forces as a loyal henchman of Chiang Kai-shek.

OUT, BUT STILL IN

Kung is no longer Finance Minister, but he remains as vice-chairman of the Executive Yuan, or Cabinet, and as chairman of the four government banks.

Chen Li-fu is no longer Minister of Education, but he has been made head of the Organization Department of the Kuomintang. This most hated of all the vicious and reactionary figures who adorn Chiang's government is thus merely shifted to another office cubicle.

Such is the "drastic reorganization" of Chiang's government, as the capitalist press refers to it. Chiang Kai-shek, fountain-head of all the corruption, ineptitude and chaos, and the personification of the regime, remains. The Stalinists have not been admitted to the "new" cabinet, nor representatives of other oppositional parties. Changes have been made — yet everything remains the same.

THE CRISIS DEEPENS

Remaining, too, is the ravaging economic and social crisis, the hopelessness of China's struggle against the Japanese invaders under the leadership of Chiang and the Kuomintang. It was not just chance that while the cabinet "reorganization" was in progress, the free exchange value of the Chinese dollar plummeted from a rate of 200 to the American dollar to a new and catastrophic low of 600 to 1. At the same time, the Japanese invaders launched new offensive operations designed to further isolate Chiang's government in a sea of occupied territory.

The "reorganization" took place at the insistence of Washington. But all Chiang dared undertake was a show-window shake-up, for fear that anything more drastic might stir the latent fires of civil war and bring the whole rotted system of landlord--capitalist oppression crashing to the ground.

AMERICAN DESIGNS

Chiang has also set up a "War Production Board" under American supervision (Donald M. Nelson) and Chiang is reported to have accepted proposals by the American General Wedemeyer (successor to the ousted Stilwell) for the future employment of China's armed forces against Japan. Thus China's struggle against Japanese imperialism is being subordinated to the strategic aims and requirements of American imperialism.

It yet remains to be seen how far along this road of submission to the Wall Street brigands Chiang dares to go. This will depend upon the resistance of the Chinese workers and peasants who over long years have struggled for the liberation of their country. They are not battling to expel the Japanese invaders so that the Yankee imperialists may become masters in their house.

His Master's Voice

NEWS ITEM: "The National War Labor Board ruled today that it could not recognize a wartime strike as 'legal' even though the employes involved had observed the 30-day notice and election provisions of the War Labor Disputes Act." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 11).

Release of British Trotskyists Hailed By SWP Convention

From this 11th National Convention of the American Trotskyist movement and the 6th National Convention of the SWP, the delegates assembled send their warmest fraternal greetings to our four British Trotskyist co-thinkers of the Revolutionary Communist Party who have been released from Churchill's jails through the pressure of an aroused working class. Like our own 18 leaders they have undergone persecution and imprisonment for their revolutionary ideas and devotion to the working class.

In the very citadels of Allied imperialism you and we have worked to expose the fraud of the "Four Freedoms" as a screen for the most predatory imperialist ambitions. To Churchill and to Roosevelt and their trade union flunkeys there could be no more heinous crime than telling the truth to the working masses. But they cannot suppress the great mass movement for the program of Lenin and Trotsky, the program for the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

The vigorous protest movement among the advanced workers that developed both in England and in the United States against the imprisonment of the Trotskyists gives us confidence and hope for the great revolutionary future of our parties. Neither slander, repression nor persecution will prevent our movement from fulfilling its historic mission as vanguard of the working class in the struggle for a socialist society. United by common ideas and aims, we will fight together on both sides of the Atlantic for the program of Trotskyism which alone can lead humanity to its glorious socialist future.

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CIO Rank And File Gets No Voice At Convention

(Continued from page 1)

in once more sidetracking the movement for genuine independent labor politics and coralling the workers into Roosevelt's stockade, that the CIO leadership took the significant step of transforming the CIO-PAC into a permanent organization. They made clear, however, that their purpose is to oppose the formation of a real labor party and to pervert the sentiments of the workers for independent labor politics into continuation of the policy of supporting capitalist political "friends of labor."

Thus, the convention was harangued with the idea that CIO-PAC was needed to elect a "progressive Congress" in 1946, when labor will be confronted with the full prospects of economic crisis and the union-busting schemes of the corporations. Yet, Murray and Hillman went into no details about the "progressive Congress" they boasted of electing on Nov. 7, when 87 percent of the Congressmen, Democratic and Republican, who had voted for the outrageous Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill were returned to office.

MURRAY AND WLB

The question of Roosevelt's wage-freeze and Little Steel Formula overcast the convention with a dark shadow. Ever since the Little Steel Formula was adopted in 1942, the CIO leaders, under increasing pressure from the membership, have been whining and bleating about the wage freeze, while going through fantastic contortions to whitewash and conceal Roosevelt's primary responsibility for frozen wages in the face of soaring prices and corporation war profits.

Roosevelt's WLB refrained from publicizing its full decision in the Steel wage case until the CIO convention had passed all the pro-Roosevelt resolutions and heard all the pro-Roosevelt speeches of the leadership. Murray was nevertheless constrained to use harsh words against the Little Steel Formula in deference to the sentiments of the ranks, and particularly his own steel union. He even made so bold as to declare in his "keynote" address, that the Little Steel Formula has "riveted . . . shackles of bondage" on labor.

But he could propose nothing more to break these shackles than for the most powerful force in America, organized labor, to crawl on hands and knees before Roosevelt, just returned to office on the strength of labor's vote, and beg for his indulgent consideration. Murray was most concerned with shielding Roosevelt and throwing responsibility for the anti-labor conduct of the WLB on Roosevelt's underlings. While condemning the WLB actions, Murray stressed again the "need" for the WLB .

The program adopted by the convention to meet the coming economic crisis consisted in an endorsement of Roosevelt's demogogic promise to provide "60,000-000 jobs" through the "free enterprise" monopoly capitalist system and Wall Street's Baruch-Hancock plan already embodied in legislation to turn the government-owned plants and properties over to the monopolies and limit the unemployed to starvation relief. This is the essence of the Roosevelt program, which Murray's resolutions larded over with fancy talk about vast government work projects, etc.

Another demonstration of the CIO leadership's subservience to the program of American imperialism was the adoption of a resolution for a "hard peace" in which the "German people must be taught that they shall atone for the crimes and horrors which they have visited upon this earth." Thus, the Murrays and Hillmans cravenly endorse the Wall Street program for crushing the German, and European, revolutions by suppressing the first victims of Hitler, the German workers.

CIO RANKS

But, at one point, through the voice of R. J. Thomas, president of the might auto workers' union, the real sentiments of the restive workers could be faintly heard. Thomas, who is fearfully facing a UAW referendum on the no-strike pledge, felt constrained to admit that he served as a member of the WLB "under the false pretense" that it would deal fairly with labor. He blurted out that "we cannot go out much longer and sell the workers on the idea that the President is the greatest man in the world unless the President moves to equalize conditions of all classes of society."

Thomas spoke more truly than he knew. The CIO convention did not represent the true sentiments of the CIO membership. The millions of militant CIO workers have already begun to demonstrate unmistakably that they are moving in an opposite direction from their supine leaders. The undefeated CIO ranks, nurtured in the traditions of heroic battles, are headed for independent class politics and fighting union struggles before which the restraining efforts of Murray and Hillman will look like the gesture of a King Canute trying to sweep back the ocean tide.

"Comradeship"

One of Philip Murray's more hypocritical resolutions introduced at the CIO convention last week expressed a "feeling of comradeship for the members of the United Mine Workers of America" who supported Roosevelt's re-election despite the contrary stand of John L. Lewis.

But the mine workers preserve a healthy suspicion of any "feeling of comradeship" voiced by Murray and his lieutenants. They recall only too vividly how Murray attempted to stab in the back the 560,000 miners who went on strike four times last year in a courageous struggle to break the Little Steel Formula and win a wage increase.

The real feeling of comradeship the miners appreciated—and it didn't come wrapped in flowery resolutions—was expressed by the rank and file rubber, auto and steel workers who last fall and winter followed the miners' actions with their own strikes against the wage freeze, fighting in the same cause for which the miners put up such a gallant battle.

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WLB Rejects Main Wage Demands Of CIO Steel Workers

(Continued from page 1)

against the Little Steel formula. And how he did rant and rave about the "shackles of bondage" which had been riveted on labor under the name of the Little Steel formula! But at the same time, he took care to prepare the delegates for what was coming by giving fervent assurance that, "regardless of labor's grievance in connection with the Little Steel formula, the 6,000,000 members of the CIO," would continue to abide by the "sacred" no-strike pledge.

DOUBLE DEAL

The labor skates conspired to withhold the steel wage decision from the delegates at the CIO convention in order to make it easier to put through their program of unconditional surrender to the capitalist class. The Roosevelt administration aided in this deception. In return for services rendered, Roosevelt threw Murray a few "face-saving" crumbs with which to appease his membership. The labor reporter for the **N. Y. Times** has indicated that this bargain was reached prior to the national elections after Roosevelt had quashed the rumors of an impending upward revision of the Little Steel formula. These rumors were circulated by Murray in an attempt to head off labor's revolt against the no-strike pledge.

"The Administration," he wrote (**N. Y. Times**, Oct. 9), "may wish to give Philip Murray, president of the CIO and also of the steel workers' union, some concessions that would help him hold his members in line. Dire predictions are being made in union circles as to what might happen if Mr. Murray should be left empty-handed. Mr. Murray's prestige in the CIO and his own union and his national standing as a labor leader are involved in the case, which has been dragging through the NWLB for nearly a year." This is the real meaning of the so-called "fringe" demands granted the steel workers by the WLB.

Roosevelt and his labor lackeys have joined in a Mutual Protective Association. The cost-plus patriots have profited from this racket at the expense of the workers. Roosevelt seeks to bolster the "prestige" of his labor lieutenants so that they may continue to betray the interests of the workers. The labor bureaucrats, on the other hand, screen Roosevelt's responsibility for driving down the living standards of the workers through the medium of freezing wages in the face of a constantly rising cost of living. The racket is nourished by a mixture of force and deception. It is these elements that constitute the basis of Roosevelt's labor relations policy. Deception and force, demagogy and fraud, are the indispensable tactics employed by Roosevelt and his labor flunkeys in "holding-the-line" against the ranks of labor.

The decision of the WLB in the steel wage case has only evaded the problem that the workers must solve in order to protect themselves against the inflationary rise in the cost of living. Instead of providing a solution for the other CIO unions the steel wage case has left them where the steel workers began approximately a year ago. The fatal "strategy" of sending one union after another through the wage-freezing mill, in order to continue the pretense of conducting a struggle against the Little Steel formula, can only lead to frustration and defeat. In a campaign for a common goal, against a common enemy, it is disastrous to throw separate detachments of labor into the struggle to be cut to pieces one at a time.

It is up to the union militants to raise the demand that a national conference be called of all unions regardless of affiliation for the purpose of engaging in joint ACTION to smash the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. Such a conference can formulate and fight for a realistic program to defend the workers' standard of living against the worst effects of wartime inflation.

The program must embody the demand for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living: for an escalator clause in all union contracts. To carry the program forward it is necessary for the unions to regain their independence of action. Demand that the labor representatives resign from the wage-freezing War Labor Board! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Build an independent party of labor!

By V. Grey

Piece work is a lousy system, all right. It sets people against each other in such a slick way, that after a while it just seems like a law of nature. Everybody being jealous of each other for getting "better" jobs and rates, everybody blaming everybody else for getting in his way or not being fast enough—that's just a part of human orneriness, or so you'd say at first glance.

In a way maybe it is, just like the capitalists' continuous bloody, murderous scramble for profits between themselves. Under capitalism there's not enough jobs or "good" jobs to go around, and the working people have to scramble, too, and exchange a few hard words once in a while. Piece work makes this a hundred times worse. That's another reason why the bosses love it so much. It's always harder to organize a union where you have piece work.

We've had piece work on most of the jobs in the shop for years. Everybody thought piece work and dreamed piece work. Seniority is applied on the best paying piece work jobs, fights with the company center on the piece work price on new jobs. But the piece work system as a whole has been pretty well accepted. The union hasn't been able to smash it—partly because it hasn't educated the membership well enough to understand all its evils. And most of us have accepted occasional fights for preference between members almost as a matter of course.

An Experience With Landing Barges

But a couple of years back we started making those landing barges for the navy. Well, like so many things in the shop, they were put on a piece work basis, too. The only trouble was for the company to try to figure how much work each person had done at the end of the shift.

Most piece work jobs are computed on so many pieces per hour or day—with one or two people doing the work. But here was a job that called for welders, fitters, burners, pipe-fitters, chippers, grinders and so on. Stop-watch Simpson, the time study man, couldn't figure any sure way to check the total production of each man. Then, too, the work had to be of higher quality than most former jobs required. Welds often had to be gone over and built up at the Navy inspector's request. The union would have demanded a double rate. Simpson and the superintendent were really up a tree. They didn't know what to do.

They solved it this way: they put the whole job on a "pool" basis. Everyone who worked on the job was to get an equal percentage, with the welders and burners getting more—their day rate was five cents higher. They set a little higher price than they would have on an individual basis, because they figured, as many of us did too, that a lot of fellows would "dog it" on the job and bring down the total. And if this went too badly, the harder working fellows would begin to take it easy, too. That, of course, wouldn't be nice. So to keep the average higher, they set this price which was pretty good compared to most of the calculations of Stop-Watch Simpson.

Well, at the beginning it was funny to watch the way the day turn would come in early to make sure the night turn was still hard at work, and stay late to make sure the afternoon turn would get started on time. And everybody would huddle around the work sheet on the bulletin board, add up the hours and compare them with the approximate work done (you couldn't figure it perfectly until a boat was finished). And there would always be some self-elected guy from one shift to needle the guys on the other shift—"What's the alibi today?" and that sort of thing.

But you couldn't help noticing that almost from the start, everybody on the **same** shift worked together so well they even surprised themselves, and wondered how they did it. The other shifts must have done likewise, because pretty soon the checks got better and better. There were several reasons for this teamwork. **With some fellows it was conscience. They didn't wan't to let the others down. With others it was fear. They were afraid the majority would despise them if they shirked. With still others it was a desire for approval—to be a regular guy. And of course, everyone wanted to make a decent wage out of it, so they all worked as hard and as co-operatively as they could.**

Some took time to show others easier ways to do their jobs. This is a thing you never see on individual piece work. But it seemed logical on the "pool." And there was at least one guy on each shift who produced 50 percent, or more, better than anyone else, just to show he could do it and get the friendly jealousy or applause of everyone else. It would only bring up the average pay a couple of percent. But in the friendlier atmosphere we began to have, and the really good pay we began to make, these speed demons didn't seem to mind this at all.

Believe it or not, finally the shift itself lost most of its distrust of the other shifts, though its sense of rivalry increased. For over a year, as long as the job lasted, we made more money than any one had ever made on piece work at the plant. The boss, of course, made bigger profits, too.

Socialism Will End Cut-throat Rivalry

Still this goes to show that people not only can work together co-operatively, but they work better in co-operation than when they are stabbing each other in the back. Of course that's always easy to prove. But people keep forgetting it because they live in a back-stabbing society, and that form of life seems eternal. It's hard to conceive of any other.

There will be no cut-throat competition or back-breaking piece work under Socialism. But in a way, Socialism will be like one world-wide "piece work pool," in which it will be the natural thing to co-operate, and in which we'll all make far better money than the "good" wages we made on the landing boats, because we'll eliminate the profits of the corporation. We'll eliminate Stop-Watch Simpson's dirty tricks. And there'll be no going back to forty dollars a week when the "good" job is over. All the jobs will be good ones.

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Speaker: MARK BRADEN

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

Viewing the SWP Convention

If all the Negro workers in America could have been here in New York to attend this convention of the international Marxist party, without a doubt each and every one would be extremely anxious to join the movement and pitch in with all his energy in the fight for Socialism. As far as the Negro would be concerned, we would be ready for the Revolution tomorrow.

You see, the internal life of the Trotskyist party is even now an exact pattern of life throughout this country and the rest of the world as it will be after the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. The reason for this is that every individual comrade is firmly convinced of the correctness of the Marxist method of thinking.

PROBING REALITY

Instead of considering anything superficially, a Marxist probes the very depths of things that seem of little importance to those who have within their grasp only the methods of thinking that have been made available to them by capitalist society. He views every article, individual, theory, political party or class of people not just in terms of its surface appearance. He also has to know where it came from, where it is going, what effect it will have on the forces that surround it and what effect other forces will have on it. Therefore Marxism, we could say, is the whole truth.

But what has that got to do with the internal life of the Marxist party? Simply this. If an individual or a movement insists upon accepting only the truth and insists upon speaking only the truth, it certainly follows that an individual or such a movement must also live the truth. Now it is a proven fact that inherent racial inferiority or superiority does not exist. Therefore, if you were living the truth, you would utterly reject any racial prejudice. That is why within a party of Marxists there is complete equality regardless of color.

This also holds true with regard to previous religious or national derivation. This fact, while of primary importance to Negroes in capitalist America, is so closely connected to other situations that, in quantity, it is but a drop in the bucket compared with all the other truths that are exposed by the Marxist method of analysis.

ALL ARE EQUAL

Racial equality from a liberalist, patronizing "You're just as good as I am" point of view, and racial equality on a straight factual basis, are two different things. Within the confines of the Marxist party you are not denied any privilege because of color, and at the same time you are not accorded any special consideration because of color.

Every individual is judged strictly on the basis of his ability and the extent to which he uses his ability in the service of the party. Now we know that it is the international party that will lead the workers to liberation under Socialism. Therefore, what it amounts to is that one is judged by his contribution to mankind.

If you don't think that individuals will exert energy for the sole idea of making a contribution to mankind — well, you should have been here observing these hundreds of delegates from all over America. The ability and the zeal shown by these revolutionists could hardly be equaled by the executive boards of the international cartels, or even by Henry Ford's income-tax advisor.

So anyone who contends that there would be no progress under Socialism with the incentive of private profit abolished, is dead wrong. That is just a repetition of what we are told in the propaganda of monopoly capitalism, whose aim is to maintain the few exploiters in control of the productive means. No, with Socialism and an education in Marxist method, which any worker of the world can learn, tremendous human energy would be unleashed and real civilization would begin.

A SERIOUS PARTY

Extreme seriousness, extreme willingness to sacrifice, and extreme confidence in the program of the Fourth International were noticeable at the convention. A few of the many outstanding examples were: The Negro worker comrade who is so talented and skilled in the field of electronics that he has built his own oscilloscope, a delicate instrument which enables you to visualize and chart sound waves on a screen. This comrade is not selling his talent to the highest bidder in the capitalist world. He chooses to direct his energy toward the liberation of society through the revolutionary party. Then the white revolutionist with decades of experience, who, when speaking of the need for Negro Marxists, proclaimed that he and many others would gladly change their skin to black if they could, so as to approach and overcome the oppressed Negroes' natural mistrust of any white man.

YOUTHFUL AT 75!

Then the alert and articulate 75-year-old Marxist who has been in the movement for 50 years. Regardless of ups and downs, betrayals and degeneracies, she has stuck to her guns. She is confident of victory and if she could live the last 50 years over again she would be in the fight again.

Only after attending this convention of the Socialist Workers Party did many of us fully realize the meaning of the last line in the famous song, "The International Party shall be the human race."

Belgium Puppet Government Launches Campaign Of Provocation And Slander Against Workers

(Continued from page 1)

to the press after the clash, Fernand de Many, a leader of the Resistance forces who is described as a "left-wing Socialist," said: "We must not have a revolution. We must have a succession of evolutions until we achieve a new, young government."

This hypocritical faker, whose line is essentially the same as that of the Stalinists, did not undertake to explain how, in face of the brutal opposition of the capitalists and their government, a "new, young government" could be obtained—unless the Pierlot government and its capitalist backers are fought and vanquished. Nor did he warn the masses that the forces of counter-revolution are steadily mobilizing and preparing to strike further deadly blows at the working-class.

Pierlot knows that the issue at stake is the issue of power: Who is to be master in the Belgian house, the capitalists or the workers? He knows that with the revolutionary ardor of the masses mounting from day to day, no compromise is possible, and that an armed showdown cannot long be postponed. He knows that the Stalinists and "Socialists" can be counted on to betray the masses. But he also knows that the masses will eventually reject these traitorous servants of capitalism and turn to true revolutionary leaders — the Trotskyists — who can and will lead them in the struggle for socialism.

Pierlot's policy is clear. By terror he hopes to cow the revolutionary masses. By acts of provocation he aims to draw them into premature and unequal struggle and whittle down their forces in preparation for a showdown battle. By means of slander he hopes to discredit the revolutionary leaders of the masses, isolate them from the broad population, alienate the sympathy of the world working-class, and thus prepare for the bloody suppression of the insurrectionary people.

HURL SLANDER

The slander campaign of Pierlot and the counter-revolution entered the American press for the first time on Nov. 27, two days after the shooting in Brussels, when a N. Y. Times dispatch from the Belgian capital stated that "German hand-grenades and small arms ammunition were found on the rioters." They had been taken from the wounded, the report said, one of whom was "a German who admitted that he was a resident of Hamburg."

The intent of this "story" is very clear. Pierlot and his gang, together with the Allied powers who are propping them up in office against the manifest will of the Belgian people, are seeking to frame up the revolutionary fighters and discredit them by falsely identifying them with the very same Nazis against whom they bore arms throughout the Nazi occupation.

It would be surprising if the Belgian Resistance fighters DID NOT possess German weapons and ammunition. Guerrilla fighters and partisans in all countries overrun by a foreign invader arm themselves with weapons taken from their enemies. Chinese guerrillas carry Japanese rifles and ammunition. Partisans in Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece carry weapons taken from the Germans. So do the French partisans. In the hands of the criminal capitalists such well-known facts are now being used to suggest (later they will say it is "proved") that the revolutionary fighters against capitalism are in league with the Nazis.

The campaign of slander was begun in a dispatch to the British **Manchester Guardian** early this month, describing the tense class warfare in the Charleroi mining district of Belgium. "Now," said the correspondent, "there is a conflict between the old unions and the new underground ones, a conflict made worse by a good deal of agitation conducted on old-fashioned Trotskyist lines which has done so much harm to the situation that it is difficult to believe that it is not inspired by Fifth Columnists."

The Charleroi district has been the scene of tremendous strikes ever since, and even before, Allied "liberation." Evidently the workers there are beginning to turn away from the old reformist trade union and "Socialist" fakers and toward the Trotskyists. It was in Charleroi that the Belgian Trotskyists (Revolutionary Communist Party) had their greatest influence before the war.

THE ACCUSERS

Who are the slanderous accusers? The previously quoted De Many declared on Nov. 26, after the shooting in Brussels, that during the Nazi occupation the entire capitalist class of Belgium "collaborated 100 percent with the enemy." He said that only two of these traitors had been shot out of 64,000 collaborators arrested. Ten percent had been set free. The remainder, of course, retains its property and its privileges, including the privilege of exploiting and lording it over the workers. It is for this capitalist scum that Pierlot and the venal press speak when they defame the militant working-class.

In 1917, Lenin and Trotsky were slandered by Kerensky and the Allied imperialists as "agents of the Kaiser" and the German General Staff. But the Russian workers quickly discovered the identity of the real traitors to their interests. They rallied in force to the Bolshevik Party, the party of Lenin and Trotsky, and made the greatest revolution in all history.

The Belgian workers will not be long deceived, if they are deceived at all. They know the Trotskyists for what they are: genuine socialist fighters. They have already gone through great struggles under Trotskyist leadership. They know that Leon Lesoil, Trotskyist leader of the Charleroi miners, was murdered in a Nazi concentration camp.

Last week Pierlot's "Parliament" was debating a law which would give him "dictatorial powers to prohibit public meetings, censor or delay mail, and remove from any areas any persons whose presence might, in the Cabinet's opinion, adversely affect military operations."

Draconian laws such as these (did Roosevelt forget to tell him about the Four Freedoms?) will not avail to keep Pierlot's shadow government in power. In defiance of a previous police ban on meetings the masses thrice assembled in great demonstrations within a period of less than two weeks. They will not be deterred from doing so again because of any "law" Pierlot may pass.

Continuing defiance of the forces of the counter-revolution, the Belgian masses still refuse to give up their arms. They will, in due course, overcome the obstacles that bar their path and sweep forward to the socialist revolution in fraternal union with their class brothers in France and throughout Europe.

Romans Shout 'Down With Capitalists!'

The revolutionary mood of the massed thousands who celebrated the 27th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Rome on Nov. 12 is attested by an account of the demonstration in Time magazine for Nov. 27. Alone among all the capitalist publications, Time reported the following significant feature of the great gathering:

There was "a blizzard of paper scraps on each of which was written 'Abasso la borghesia!' (Down with the Capitalists!)."

Solidarity With Trotskyists in Europe Voiced By SWP Convention

With great joy and hope the SWP in Convention assembled has heard the inspiring news of the activity of the resurgent Trotskyist movement in France, Italy, Belgium and Western Europe. Our movement in Europe has withstood the terrible tests of fascist repression and imperialist war. First on the honor roll of the European Trotskyist parties are a long list of martyrs who have fallen under the bullets and in the concentration camps of the Nazi executioner. The organization of a Trotskyist Party in the very cauldron of revolutionary crisis in Italy; the outstanding participation of the French Bolshevik-Leninists in the Paris uprising of August, give great promise for the future of European Trotskyism.

We are confident that our parties in Europe will know how to mobilize the masses in the struggle for the Soviet Power and the Socialist United States of Europe. With this program the parties of the Fourth International will wrest the leadership of the masses from the Stalinist and Social-Democratic lackeys of imperialism and lead the European masses to liberation from the tyranny of the new Anglo-American conquerors of the continent.

We pledge our untiring support and collaboration to our co-thinkers in Europe! We will leave no stone unturned to mobilize the American working class in support of their class brothers engaged in revolutionary combat in the European continent against native and foreign oppressors. We will strain our every nerve and all our resources to aid in the building and strengthening of your parties. You can count upon us!

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Sometimes in the summer you will see a fly land on a piece of garbage. Soon he is followed by another fly, and another. Then several more swarm onto it. Pretty soon there are hundreds of them, all buzzing round and walking over it. That's what it's like in the plant when rumors begin to circulate.

A little over a month ago somebody remarked that we would probably be going on five days a week before long. That was the first fly. Now all the others have been swarming in. Every day you hear jokes, curses, angry, and fearful comments about how soon it may happen and how hard it is going to be to get along on five days' pay.

Just yesterday Jimmy said to me, "If a man can't get along on the money he makes nowadays, how in hell is he going to get along when they take away our time-and-a-half day? There won't be any more doubles either. We'll be lucky just to get our forty hours."

Even the vice-president of our local, a strong Roosevelt man who almost worked himself to death during the PAC drive and carried around ten pounds of Roosevelt-Truman buttons, has begun to look a little thoughtful. Every day now he comes to me and says a little pathetically, "Well, have you heard anything more about the raise? If they don't give us something pretty soon, it's going to be hell when they cut out the sixth day."

It's going to be hell, all right, Mac. It's no comfort to you when I show you how **The Militant** has been predicting these things all along. And it doesn't help you either when I point out what's happening in Washington, where Roosevelt with Murray's able assistance, is carrying on a long comedy before the whole sellout is revealed nakedly. I may be able to show you where we're going, but that won't get rid of your worries.

It's going to be hell to get those short paychecks that won't measure up to even a half-way normal standard of living with today's prices so far out of reach.

In Emil's place last payday when we were cashing our checks and having a couple beers, Gus Miller turned to me with angry suddenness and burst out, "Look, I haven't got a damn thing. I sold all the bonds they made me buy. I had to. I couldn't make both ends meet. What the hell are we going to do when we get back on a forty hour week? I can't make it. I know I can't."

From all corners the stories come. They grow in volume and intensity. Fear is stalking the blast furnace line. Fear and worry are rampaging up and down the whole plant. Shabby old memories that had been gratefully discarded are once again rising up like ghosts to haunt us.

Unrest is felt. There are vague stirrings. Every now and then a worker, sometimes an ex-scab from the big strike several years ago, will tell you angrily how we ought to shut the whole damn place down, and we should show Murray who's boss in the union. But it's still vague—just letting off steam. It'll grow. Maybe it'll grow with a terrific rush, but still, it will have to grow before anything can come of it, at least anything that will have any chance at all for success. The anger hasn't caught up to the fear as yet.

It's going to be hell. That is the sentiment expressed by everyone. We feel, many of us, like a condemned man on the eve of his execution. We've known it was coming, known it all along. But now that it appears to be hanging over our head, we're not ready for it. "If it would only hold off a little while!" we think. But we know it won't.

Like the heavy clouds of smoke and flue dust that come between us and the sun, the shadows of the oncoming hard times, of the new depression are darkening the future. The cold winds of approaching winter are a little sharper to every steelworker. And of the days to come, the grey skies are more threatening.

CARLO TRESCA

$5,000 Offered For Information In Tresca Murder

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 22.—A $5,000 reward has been offered by a committee of five prominent liberals for information which will lead to the arrest and conviction of the assassin who on January 8, 1943 fatally shot Carlo Tresca, outstanding fighter for labor's rights and editor of *Il Martello*, leading Italian-American anti-fascist weekly.

The committee is headed by Morris L. Ernst, a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and includes former Municipal Court Justice Dorothy Kenyon, ACLU National Director Roger Baldwin, Eduard C. Lindeman and John F. Finerty, noted defense attorney. Margaret De Silva Tresca, Carlo Tresca's widow, had previously offered a $1,000 reward.

Tresca, who for several decades had been famed as an irreproachable and courageos fighter for labor, was murdered during a dim-out here as he was walking along Fifth Avenue. His murderer escaped. At the time of his death Tresca had been under attack both from Italian Fascist elements and the Stalinists. The latter especially were engaged in a lynch-incitation slander campaign against him. Such campaigns have usually preceded GPU assassinations, such as that of Leon Trotsky in 1940.

Sharp criticism has been repeatedly made of the manner in which the New York Police Department has "investigated" the case. It has been charged that powerful political influences have been impeding apprehension of the murderer.

The announcement of the $5,000 reward expresses the belief that Tresca was shot by a hired gunman and indicates that the assassination was politically motivated.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

DECEMBER 1, 1934

NEW YORK—"The Workers Party of the United States has been formed!" proclaimed **The Militant**, describing the Fusion Convention of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) and the American Workers Party (Musteite). "Sleepless delegates, without rest from the all-night sessions of their respective organizations, shook off their weariness to speed the foundations for the new party. . ."

Full text of the declaration of principles and the constitution of the Workers Party of the United States appeared in **The Militant**, setting forth a revolutionary Marxist program and establishing firm Bolshevik organizational principles.

GERMANY—Franz Bobzien, a young member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist League of Germany, was murdered by Hitler's gunmen in a Hamburg prison, **The Militant** announced. Comrade Bobzien, arrested by Holland police in February, 1934 when he attended an international conference of revolutionary youth organizations, had been delivered by the Dutch government into the hands of the Nazis, who sentenced him to four years in prison for "high treason."

"Refusing for purely factional reasons to participate in the international movement of protest (against Comrade Bobzien's arrest), the Stalinists share in the guilt of his execution," **The Militant** said. "We swear to carry on until his executioners will feel the heavy hand of proletarian retribution."

NEW YORK—National Unemployed Day, November 24, went down in American labor history as a landmark of militant activity. All over the nation, even in the "deep South," hundreds of thousands of jobless men and women paraded to the doors of local relief administration offices, with banners proclaiming demands for cash relief, recognition of Unemployed Workers' Unions, a broad program of public works, and a 30-hour week at a minimum wage of $30 for all industries.

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Pioneer Paragraphs

TROTSKY EXPOUNDED MARXIST ATTITUDE TOWARD TERRORISM

Isolated terroristic explosions are inevitable whenever political oppression transgresses certain boundaries. Such acts almost always have a symptomatic character. But politics that sanctifies terror, raising it to a system — that is a different thing. "Terroristic work," I wrote in 1909, "in its very essence demands such an over-estimation of personal heroism and lastly, such a hermetically concealed conspiracy as . . . excludes completely any agitational and organizational activity among the masses . . . Struggling against terrorism, the Marxian intelligentsia defended their right or their duty not to withdraw from the working-class districts for the sake of tunneling mines underneath the Grand Ducal and Tsarist palaces."

It is impossible to fool or outwit history. In the long run, history puts everybody in his place. The basic property of terror as a system is to destroy that organization which by means of chemical compounds seeks to compensate for its own lack of political strength. There are, of course, historical conditions where terror can introduce confusion among the governing ranks. But in that case who is it that can reap the fruits? At all events, not the terrorist organization itself, and not the masses behind whose backs the duel takes place.

Thus, the liberal Russian bourgeois, in their day, invariably sympathized with terrorism. The reason is plain. In 1909 I wrote: "In so far as terror introduces disorganization and demoralization into the ranks of the Government (at the price of disorganizing and demoralizing the ranks of the revolutionists), to that extent, it plays into the hands of none other than the liberals themselves." The very same idea, expressed virtually in the same words, we meet a quarter of century later in connection with the Kirov assassination.

The very facts of individual acts of terror is an infallible token of the political backwardness of a country and the feebleness of the progressive forces there. The revolution of 1905, which disclosed the vast strength of the proletariat, put an end to the romanticism of the single combat between a handful of intellectuals and Tsarism. "Terrorism in Russia is dead," I reiterated in a number of articles. ". . . Terror has migrated far to the East — to the provinces of Punjab and Bengal . . . It may be that in other countries of the Orient terrorism is still destined to pass through an epoch of flowering. But in Russia it is already a part of the heritage of history."

(From "The Case of Leon Trotsky," Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1937, pp. 490-491.)

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

SWP Convention

The more than 400 delegates and visitors who convened in New York November 16-20 made the Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist movement the largest in number and most proletarian in composition yet held. No more convincing demonstration could have been given of the frustration of Roosevelt's plan to decapitate the Trotskyist movement at the beginning of the war by railroading its outstanding leaders to prison. Despite this cruel blow, the Socialist Workers Party has grown and progressed.

The convention gave proof that our party succeeded in converting the persecution into a powerful weapon, utilizing the trial and imprisonment to spread the ideas of socialism to new layers of workers. The SWP is today recognized throughout the nation as the only party with a serious program of opposition to imperialist war.

The party succeeded in rallying millions of workers to defend their own civil liberties by defending and supporting the 18 Trotskyists framed up under the Smith "Gag" Act. The convention likewise demonstrated that the party during its defense campaign succeeded in recruiting numbers of the very best militants of the labor movement.

The convention adopted two resolutions on political perspectives. The first analyzes the developing revolutionary situation in Europe and sets forth the strategy and tactics for the proletariat to take power and create the Socialist United States of Europe. The second resolution analyzes the profound crisis confronting American capitalism. It presents the Trotskyist program of transitional demands as the working class answer to this developing crisis. Some of the most inspiring reports of delegates were those from the field citing instances where the advanced workers are already adopting these transitional slogans.

The full text of these two important resolutions will be published in the December issue of *Fourth International*.

Basing its perspective on the coming revolutionary developments in Europe and the growing radicalization of the working class in this country, the convention outlined a bold program of expansion, envisaging a great increase in circulation of the press and a considerable influx of new members.

The Eleventh Convention showed that American Trotskyism is becoming a force to be reckoned with in the labor movement. The SWP is now closely fused with the militant vanguard of the American working class.

In the stormy class battles which lie ahead the workers will cast aside the labor bureaucrats with their records of betrayal and turn attentively to the Trotskyists who never sold them out. The Trotskyists, for their part, are seriously preparing themselves to lead the American workers to victory in the struggle for socialism.

Politics Of Betrayal

The most important lesson of the November election is the perfidious role of Wall Street's labor lieutenants. The workers and poor farmers constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. Yet in the election they not only failed to elect a single representative to office, but they failed even to nominate one on a national ticket.

The political power of the working class, however, was demonstrated by the fact that Roosevelt was elected by their vote. Their potential strength was furher demonstrated by the doubling of the 1940 vote cast for the American Labor Party and its Liberal split-off.

How could this powerful class fail so signally to gain even one seat in Congress? The fault lies wholly with the trade union heads who represent Wall Street's political interests. John L. Lewis, for example, who in 1936 was spoken of as a possible future labor president, in 1940 and again in 1944 called on the working class to support the Republican Party.

The CIO Political Action Committee, organized ostensibly to activize the labor movement politically, turned its entire energies under the direction of Hillman, Murray and the American representatives of the Stalinist bureaucracy, to mobilizing the labor vote for Roosevelt.

The American Labor Party and the Liberal Party called on the workers to support the candidates and the program of the Democratic Party, whose anti-labor record in the last decade begins with the consistent strike-breaking of 1934-37 and culminates in the wage-freezing and government straitjacketing of labor today.

It was the labor bureaucrats, and only the labor bureaucrats, who stood between the workers and the formation of an independent labor party. Had these labor organizations called on the workers to oust Big Business representatives in government and replace them with labor's spokesmen, the entire political picture would today be different.

An independent labor party would now stand on the scene. Under the proper leadership it would exert its enormous pressure to end the wage-freezing that is pushing down the workers' standard of living. It would demand an end to war-profiteering, an end to reconversion for the benefit of Wall Street, an end to the counter-revolutionary schemings of the American imperialists in Europe and throughout the world.

As it is, the reactionary program of Wall Street has been given a new lease on life. This is the measure of the sell-out of the labor bureaucrats.

Jim Crow Verdict

Last week in San Francisco a brass-hat, Negro-hating court martial imposed sentences ranging from eight to fifteen years upon fifty Negro sailors, convicted of "mutiny." The case began when a ship in Port Chicago being loaded with ammunition blew up, killing 327 men. The great majority were Negro sailors in "labor battalions" doing longshore work. All those on trial were either survivors or among the squads that cleaned up the wreckage and dismembered bodies.

These Negro sailors allegedly circulated a petition asking for transfers to other types of work. Although the longshoremen's union does not permit men to load ammunition unless they have had at least five years experience, some of the Negro sailors were put on ammunition after only two to three months training. Simply for exercising the democratic right of petition—a right included in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution—they have been found guilty of "conspiracy to mutiny" in the Navy of American "democracy."

A monstrous crime has been committed in this case—against the fifty Negro sailors who are being railroaded to prison. That crime has been committed by the Navy brass hats, by the military high command and by the Commander-in-Chief in the White House, who enforce Jim Crow policies in the armed forces and relegate Negro sailors to the most menial and dangerous tasks. As Grant Reynolds correctly declares in "The Crisis" for November: "The gods of justice might better be served if those responsible for the miserable plight of the Mare Island mutineers were tried in mass court martial instead of the innocent victims of their despicable policies."

Every labor and progressive organization must join the Negro people in demanding that this vicious verdict be set aside and the fifty Negro sailors freed.

FREE THE 12!

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor*

Stalinist Meeting

Editor:

During the recent election campaign the communist Political Association held a meeting at the Yugoslav Hall in San Pedro where Paul Klein, editor of the Stalinist **People's World**, reviewed the pamphlet "Teheran" by Earl Browder.

The meeting was called for eight p. m. and your correspondent was in his seat reading a copy of the **Militant**, which was being distributed at the entrance to the hall. At eight-thirty there were about thirty people in the hall and the chairman announced that he would wait no longer because "evidently very few people are interested in the election..."

The speaker of the evening gathered up his notes, slowly stood up, and faced the audience with a dismal, unhappy expression. "I can't understand how, in San Pedro, of all places, we have such a small group at our meeting tonight. Why, in the old days the hall was alway jammed and everyone wanted to speak, to ask questions... and the speaker was always interrupted by workers coming in fresh from picket lines or groups going out to picket or distribute leaflets."

Nobody tried to answer the question or explain why the meeting was such a flop. Mr. Klein went on with his observations: "But it isn't only San Pedro, either, it is the same everywhere I go these days."

He then proceeded to give an election speech for the candidate of the Democratic Party. For fifteen minutes by my pre-war Elgin he rattled off a memorized spiel much in the manner of an eight-year-old reciting a graduation exercise.

Then he launched into one of the most uninspiring lectures I have ever had the misfortune to sit through. After three or four attempts to explain what Browder really meant in the pamphlet "Teheran," the speaker suddenly threw down his notes and, drawing himself up as though he were going to jump out the nearest window, shouted at his half-asleep audience: "I KNOW IT REQUIRES BREATH-TAKING IMAGINATION TO GRASP THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EARL BROWDER'S BOOK! I CAN'T EXPLAIN IT, BUT I AGREE ONE HUNDRED PERCENT WITH BROWDER. YOU HAVE TO READ IT YOURSELF TO UNDERSTAND IT."

The chairman, at this point, announced that the booklet was on sale in the hall and that the ushers would take advantage of this point in the lecture by Mr. Klein to sell the pamphlet. Several copies were sold, but almost everyone present was reading the **Militant**. In fact, while Mr. Klein was speaking the audience was thumbing through the **Militant**, reading the headlines, examining the cartoons and pictures.

The speaker continued and then wound up his dirge by inviting all "honest" workers present to ask questions or take the floor in discussion. The first question came from one of the old Stalinist hacks, "Can you tell us something about this paper everyone is reading?" He pointed to a copy of the **Militant**. This question was the high point of the meeting. Everyone looked up and seemed interested all of a sudden.

"I'm very glad you asked that question," he said with a gleam in his eye, "because a lot of people are being fooled by it these days. My answer to your question is this; the people who gave that paper out tonight at our meeting would not dare to distribute it tonight in France, where the best people of France are busy restoring their nation to a place of honor beside America, Great Britain and Russia."

The audience went on reading the **Militant** and the speaker sat down, pretending not to see what was going on.

There was only one more question. The audience was on its way out of the hall when the chairman adjourned the meeting.

Bill Morgan
San Pedro, Calif.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Germany

The hell of privation and suffering now being endured by the people of Germany was sharply indicated by the recent reports (see last week's *Militant*) of peace demonstrations brutally suppressed by the the Nazis. A glimpse of the actual conditions of life was given in a Stockholm report to the *N. Y. Times* on Nov. 22 which said that a "freakish cold snap, heralding an early and unusually severe winter, has inflicted extreme hardships on some 2,000,000 people still remaining in the ruins of Berlin."

According to this report, 60% of the population have no windows and 30 percent are without any means of heating their abodes. "In the past week" it continues, "the suicide rate has risen to an average of 50 persons a day." There is a tremendous increase in crime. During each air-raid alert about 30 murders are committed, mostly in connection with robberies. The robberies usually concern ration cards, for the masses are hungry.

"Although the food situation... has deteriorated to such a point that it is difficult to obtain even the modest quantities to which ration cards entitle the holder, housing is reported to be the biggest problem. Steam heat plants have been destroyed in most houses and, where they are still functioning, there is usually no coal . . . Makeshift window covers of boxwood and cardboard do not provide sufficient protection against cold. On almost every street one sees people walling up windows and openings with brick scrap from ruins."

India

A total of 243,375 persons died of malaria in the province of Bengal alone during the first three months of 1944, as compared with 101,154 in the corresponding period of last year. These figures are official, and probably understated. They were given by a government spokesman in the Bengal Assembly on Nov. 22.

To the millions of deaths through famine in 1943 are now being added more through disease. Malaria has reached epidemic proportions and the British overlords of India, who used to boast how they had brought "civilization" to the great subcontinent, do practically nothing to stem the terrific toll of life. Their parasitic rule eats up the substance of India's wealth and leaves nothing for essential social services, not to speak of feeding the people adequately.

The British imperialist leeches will never voluntarily relinquish their grip on India. That is why the begging and pleading of Gandhi and the Congress Party, who seek to gain India's independence as a gift from its oppressors and exploiters, represent a deception and a betrayal of the cause of India's freedom. The British freebooters will have to be thrown out by force. For that a great movement of the masses, led by a revolutionary party, is necessary. That party already exists and grows. It is the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, section of the Fourth International.

Soviet Union

A graphic picture of the Soviet Union under the rule of the counter-revolutionary Stalin and his greedy bureaucracy was given in a Moscow dispatch to the London *News-Review* on Sept. 21:

"For anyone with the time and money, life has improved in Moscow as rapidly as the Red Army has advanced on the front. But not everyone by any means has the necessary rubles. The new unrationed Soviet Commercial Department stores, food shops and restaurants contain everything to wear, eat and drink. But prices are very high and queues are long. Reportedly, the remainder of the ration system (in low-priced State stores) will be abolished before the end of the war. But for the average Russian rationing remains a reality. Prices of unrationed goods prevent him from buying more than a smattering of luxuries.

"Commercial food stores were instituted in Moscow last March with prices about as high as on the free markets, where peasants can sell their surplus without State control. Some sample prices on the free market (in rubles for one kilogram; the ruble equals approximately one shilling, or 25 cents); White bread, 275; sweet butter, 800; eggs, 15 rubles each; beef, 320; sugar, 650.

"The average war-time wage-earner receives about 600 rubles monthly. A month's work will buy about 2 lbs of sugar in a commercial store. A man's woolen suit in a commercial store costs 4,500 rubles, men's shoes 1,000 to 3,700 rubles, women's rayon stockings 280 rubles, toilet soap 85 to 150 rubles. A worker can spend his average monthly wage on a pair of children's shoes alone.

"But the salaries of factory directors and other important executives run as high as 10,000 rubles monthly with overtime pay and bonuses. Within their reach are such items as a piano at 20,000 rubles, a woman's caracul coat at 17,000 rubles.

"Rents, compared with store prices, are low. A three-room flat costs an average of 480 rubles monthly, but the average worker considers rimself lucky to have a single room for a family of three or four at a much smaller rent.

"Queues are as much an obstacle to purchase as prices. Lines five blocks long coil around and away from 'Mostorg,' Moscow's main department store. Inside there are more queues. A day's work is often involved in making a single purchase.

Everything for the ruling bureaucracy — for the masses, the leftovers. This is what the Soviet Union has come to under Stalin, who years ago announced the "final and irrevocable triumph" of "socialism in one country."

Holland

By contrast with Italy, where the principal industrial areas are still under Nazi occupation, the parts of Holland already "liberated" by the Allied imperialists comprise the industrial heart of the country. The renewed class struggle in Holland is therefore developing at a greatly accelerated tempo. Strikes are increasing in frequency. One of the most recent was at Eindhoven where on Nov. 21 the entire working class, including workers at the huge Phillips radio plant, quit their jobs and demonstrated for 12 hours, demanding more food.

Government attempts to disarm the Resistance Forces, reports *Time* magazine (Nov. 27) have led to clashes. The armed people "resented the removal of the mayors they had installed in various towns, the restoration of Queen Wilhelmina's pre-war officials." They are opposed to the return of the monarchy and "talked loudly of 'petticoat government' and the need for 'economic democracy'." To which *Time* adds the further significant item: "'We took up arms against the Germans' they muttered, 'and we can do it again'."

Stalin Protests Lenin Pamphlet

An Associated Press dispatch from Rome (Nov. 22) reports that Stalin's government demanded of Allied military headquarters in Italy the suppression of a "Life of Lenin" pamphlet circulated in the Italian capital. Moscow declared the publication was "insulting to the USSR" and that the author was an enemy of the USSR and a "Fascist."

The author and publisher of the pamphlet — which the Allied authorities, for their own reasons, refused to suppress—were not identified in the dispatch. But when Stalin calls the author a "Fascist" and an enemy of the Soviet Union, we wonder whether the pamphlet could not have been published by — the Italian revolutionists.

Buy "The Militant"
IN MILWAUKEE
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Roosevelt's Demagogy About '60 Million Jobs'

Capitalist politicians operate on the premise that demagogic promises, to be effective, must always be big and bold. An example is Roosevelt's recent promise of a "postwar" employment program providing no less than 60,000,000 jobs, which would be 5,000,000 more than during the peak of war production and 20,000,000 greater than the 1936-39 average.

The only specific item of this program so far revealed is a proposal to build a system of "TVA's" on six major watersheds and to undertake Roosevelt's pet project, the St. Lawrence Seaway. But all these projects put together will not provide employment for a twentieth of the jobless anticipated in the coming period of economic crisis.

When one considers how long and successfully the public utilities corporations prevented the undertaking of these projects in the past, and particularly during the New Deal Era of 13,000,000 to 15,000,000 unemployed, it is hardly likely that all or any of these projects will be undertaken in time even to provide jobs for more than a few tens of thousands of unemployed.

Such Rooseveltian demagogy is intended to conceal the real Wall Street-Roosevelt program, the Baruch-Hancock plan already embodied in major legislation. This provides for the "speedy disposal" of approximately $10 billion worth of government-owned plants, equipment, land, supplies, etc., to the giant monopolies, which intend to "plow them under" in order to limit production and maintain scarcity prices. At the same time, the George "Starvation" Bill is providing "states rights" unemployed relief as low as $2 a week for only six weeks.

According to previous estimates put forth by official government agencies, war contract terminations and production cutbacks were expected to reduce industrial employment following the defeat of Germany by "only" 40 per cent. Now, it is reported, the administration has been compelled to "revise" the first estimate and is trying to devise a method for breaking the news "gently" that anticipated war industries unemployment is likely to reach over 70 per cent.

The Myth of High Wages During Second World War

Testimony of union workers from the textile, tobacco, cannery, maritime, telegraph and telephone and other low-wage industries, given last week before a Senate Subcommittee considering union demands for legislation to establish a 65 cents an hour minimum wage standard, offered graphic proof of the government's own figures showing that 40 per cent of all American wage-earners receive less than 65 cents an hour, or $26 a week.

One after another, workers and their wives bitterly told of their hopeless efforts to stretch pitiful wages to provide a minimum decency standard of living for their families. Most of the workers who testified work long hours of overtime and have been employed by the same firm for many years. War price rises have reduced their previous subsistence wages almost to starvation levels.

Emil Rieve, CIO Textile Workers Union president, used statistics from a War Labor Board study in January, 1944 to summarize the wage situation. This study shows that 21.7% of all American wage earners receive less than $20 per week; 54.3%, under $32; 87.3%, under $48. Over 50% of all workers are getting wages which in terms of pre-war purchasing power are the equivalent—or less—of a former WPA relief worker's pay.

International Monopolies Prepare for the 'Peace'

In the secluded, swanky precincts of the Westchester Country Club at Rye, N. Y., representatives of the world's most powerful capitalist monopolies have been gathered in an "International Business Conference" called formally by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Foreign Trade Council and the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce.

This secret conclave has been laying the basis for the real "peace treaties" — the private agreements of the great international trusts. In the luxury of the Westchester Country Club, the agents of the rapacious imperialists have been bargaining for the spoils of war, favorable world trade positions, spheres of economic influence.

One of the big issues before this conference was the question of cartels, the international combines in restraint of world trade and production maintained between the monopolists of all capitalist countries. The British, for instance, favor the old cartel system; they look to alliances against their more powerful American competitors. Some of the American spokesmen "deplore" cartels in the name of "free enterprise;" their resources make them confident that they can destroy their competitors if they keep them divided.

Senator Kilgore termed the conference an attempt "to return to that same system of private economic treaties which contributed so largely to the depression and the breakdown of the peace."

But he directed his fire mainly at the prospect of the revival of the "German cartels" and offered no proposals for liquidating the American trusts which have helped to bolster up the cartel system in alliance with the German and other monopolists. Kilgore even thinks the Allied authorities "should cooperate with the popular and resistance movements of Europe in driving out collaborators" with the German trusts.

Actually, the Roosevelt administration has protected the big American cartelists by shelving anti-trust prosecutions "for the duration." And the Roosevelt-Churchill AMG and Allied Commissions in Belgium, France, Italy, etc., cooperate with the former pro-Nazi capitalist collaborators and back the capitalist puppet regimes in their attempts to disarm the popular anti-fascist resistance movements.